

# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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## Crisis looms for Anglo-Irish deal

The Anglo-Irish Agreement threatens to precipitate a crisis for the Thatcher government in the Six Counties of Ireland. Furious loyalist opposition has greeted the deal, the first major step of their campaign against it being the resignation on 1 January of all the Unionist MPs at Westminster. So far however, the deal has met unanimous support from the imperialist ruling classes of Britain, USA, France, Germany and the neo-colonial Twenty Six Counties. It has been given overwhelming backing by the British House of Commons, the Labour Party and the press. In the Twenty Six Counties, Haughey's Fianna Fail party voted against the deal but said they would not impede it.

The imperialists clearly want the plan to work. Thatcher has made plain her determination to prevent loyalist opposition from wrecking the Agreement as it wrecked power sharing in 1974. What is at stake for British imperialism that it should risk its long-standing and vital alliance with the loyalists in the Six Counties?

### The strengthening of partition

Despite the hysterical accusations of the loyalists, the Agreement does not represent any move towards Irish re-unification. On the contrary, as Sinn Fein has pointed out, it is aimed at strengthening partition, isolating and defeating revolutionary Republicanism and stabilising imperialist domination in Ireland, North and South. Already Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King has made this embarrassingly clear. In a speech on 3 December (for which he later had to apologise because it was too truthful) he said:

'In Northern Ireland we have signed an agreement in which the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland ... has in fact accepted that for all practical purposes and into perpetuity, there will never be a united Ireland.'

The content of the Agreement is:

- that the re-unification of Ireland can only come about with the consent of the loyalists.
- the establishment of a Conference between the British government and the Twenty Six Counties' government which will discuss Six Counties' affairs including security, cross-border collaboration, legal and social matters. The South will be able to put forward 'proposals' on these.
- the Conference will discuss 'human rights', the prevention of discrimination and a programme of measures to improve relations between the police and the nationalist community.
- that a programme of work and co-operation between the RUC and the Gardai be instituted, training, exchange of information and technical co-operation.
- the discussion of harmonising legal arrangements—in particular extradition of Republicans from the South.

Beneath a layer of waffle about rights, the crux of the matter is that British rule in the Six Counties now has the full and open backing of the Dublin government. Both are equally determined to crush the Republican movement. It is no surprise therefore that the first concrete result was a meeting on 2 December (the first for three years) between RUC Chief Hermon and Garda Chief Wren. It is a testament to the strength and

determination of the nationalist people of the Six Counties and the Republican movement that Britain has felt it necessary to make this agreement. Despite sixteen years of armed occupation, not only has the struggle for national libera-

Loyalists burn an effigy of Thatcher



## BROADWATER FARM Siege continues

For 6 weeks the police broke into homes at the rate of two a week. They used pick-axes to smash open doors and invaded homes to ransack them. In the immediate area of Tottenham and on the estate itself, nearly 100 houses have been entered and searched. Items of clothing, food, including baby food, videos and televisions, jewelry, supplementary benefits books, cheque books, photographs, passports and so on were taken away. Now the police have changed tactics and enter homes on the estate with a pass key. Up to 50 police have been involved in some raids, and no search warrants are produced. People are refused receipts and lists of items taken away. Many Tottenham people have been forced to turn to the council for immediate help because they have been made penniless and left without clothing.

The aim of the police is to terrorise the community. Young children have been questioned away from their parents, white youth have been threatened with imprisonment unless they dissociate themselves from their black friends. Parents have had their children taken into 'care' by the social services at the command of the police. These terror tactics have been carried into the local schools where pupils have been questioned, and into workplaces. Always

present are the packed police vans where the 200-400 police wait on a rota basis to constantly patrol, film and survey everyone who comes and goes on the estate. Helicopters regularly fly overhead and phones, including call boxes, are tapped. Yet despite their heavy presence, the police took 45 minutes to call for help when an old age pensioner was taken ill with a heart condition and died shortly afterwards.

tion continued but also severe blows to British propaganda have resulted from Sinn Fein's electoral successes. They have demonstrated to the world that the Republican movement has mass popular support. In the process the middle class collaborationist politicians, the SDLP, have been shown to be increasingly irrelevant. British imperialism has thus been robbed of any veneer of democracy in its rule in Ireland. Terror, armed might, show trials and imprisonment are, and are seen to be, the only means by which Britain remains in Ireland.

Twenty Six Counties' backing for British rule in Ireland is therefore of great importance for Britain. Firstly because it gives a propaganda cover to Britain's repressive rule; secondly because it gives the appearance (without any substance) of granting some rights to the nationalist population; thirdly it is hoped by both governments that these measures will be sufficient to win middle class nationalist opinion to the deal, strengthen the SDLP and thus create a pole of constitutional nationalism which can be used politically to isolate Sinn Fein. Alongside this will go stepped up repression against Republicans.

It is the necessity for British imperialism to bolster constitutional nationalism that explains its present argument with the loyalists. The loyalists wish to see the Six Counties run on crudely sectarian lines with Britain backing up loyalist supremacy with force. For British imperialism, in this period, the excesses of loyalism—its open bigotry, fascist ideology and denial of rights to the Catholic minority—are a barrier to the isolation of the Republican movement, the development of constitutional nationalism and there-

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7 December Queenstown: A funeral procession for 11 people murdered by the regime is led by a marcher carrying a model submachine gun representing the people's war against apartheid

## Apartheid fails to quell revolt

At the beginning of November, the apartheid regime imposed a ban on all but officially-approved media coverage of any 'situations of unrest'. The reason given: that the presence of TV crews 'had proved to be a catalyst for further violence' in the black townships. The TV crews have gone, but the carnage continues. The death toll in November was the highest since the risings started over a year ago. Every single day, black people in South Africa are ruthlessly and brutally murdered by the racist police. On 21 November 13 black people (official figures) were killed when police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration, led by thousands of women. A police helicopter flying above sprayed live bullets and teargas into the crowd below, resulting in the highest number of deaths at one time since the massacre at Langa on 21 March 1985.

Now that we no longer see some of these barbarous acts on our TV screens every night, Botha feels confident in declaring that the revolutionary movement in South Africa is fast losing momentum. Yet the events of the past few weeks have shown that the reverse is true—the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed soars to new heights and gains strength. The militancy of the black urban townships has continued to spread to the smaller, rural black townships. The boycott of white-owned businesses and community resistance to forced removals has intensified. In the prisons, the detainees fight back. 400 detainees facing indefinite detention have been on hunger strike, some even refusing water. The attacks on black policemen, councillors and other collaborators continue unabated, with the level of grenade attacks on police patrols and buildings increasing dramatically.

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Councillor Tony Mulhearn enters the NEC enquiry

## Liverpool City Council defeated by Kinnock

In launching a witch hunt against Militant and the Liverpool District Labour Party, Kinnock has once again made plain to the working class what the Labour Party really is — a party of the privileged. The witch hunt sets the seal on the defeat of the Labour City Council in its fight against Tory rate-capping. The Liverpool City Council was the last council to defy Tory spending cuts — scarcely surprising in a city with perhaps the highest proportion of the underprivileged. Yet in the end, the tactics that it followed allowed the opportunist leadership of the labour movement to isolate and destroy it.

It is perhaps difficult to remember that when the City Council launched its struggle against the government, it had massive support. In March 1984, tens of thousands struck and marched in support of its defiance of government stipulations that it either massively increase its rates or sack up to 5,000 workers. In the following 18 months, that support was dissipated, the DLP and Militant progressively isolated. A new caucus, 'Liverpool Labour Left', has been established, with a plat-

form of abject capitulation. This group of opportunists, united only by its cowardice, is being groomed to replace Militant as the leadership of the DLP when Militant is kicked out. With such a group in control of the local Labour Party, Kinnock will be assured that there will be no political embarrassment in his drive to be elected Prime Minister.

The period of the Liverpool City Council's struggle has been most instructive, however. It proved conclusively that to resist the onslaught

of this government, the only reliable support will come from the most oppressed. Throughout this period, the DLP had attempted to ride two horses at once: it had tried to retain the support of the opportunists and the mass of the local working class at the same time. It ended up doing neither.

Constantly the City Council prevaricated, trying to postpone the final confrontation. It repeated time and again that it had the support of the national leadership, at a time when this was patently untrue. To retain this mythical support, the Council agreed to the establishment of the Stonefrost commission — which recommended a substantial rate rise, an option rejected by the Council. The end came for the council on 22 November in the form of a loan from a consortium of Swiss banks. The terms include what the

Labour leaders had demanded all along: that the Council adopt the capitalisation option, by moving money from its revenue account into its capital account, and that it sets a legal budget. While staving off the crisis in the short term, the effect will be a sharp rate rise and cuts in jobs and services as the loan repayments, no doubt at a hefty rate of interest, fall due.

In the line-up of opportunism, a small but significant role was played by the Communist Party. Its position, and that expressed by the *Morning Star*, was that the City Council should have taken Kinnock's advice and set a balanced budget in April — in other words, it was against any fight from the beginning. The Secretary of the local NUT, Jim Ferguson, went to court to try and get a legal rate set, and refused to allow a ballot of NUT members over the strike call in September. This stand was supported by NUPE, whose officials such as Jane Alexander, are prominent in the witch hunt.

The language of Kinnock now that he has successfully defeated the City Council knows no bounds. 'Maggots', 'aliens', his reference to the need for a psychiatrist to explain the behaviour of the City Councillors, are the phrases of a complete reactionary. Although the witch hunt is conveniently presented as being directed against Militant, Militant supporters make up less than a third of the 49 councillors. The aim of the witch hunt is to seal the Labour Party off completely and finally from any influence of those who want to resist Tory attacks. The oppressed don't bother to vote, so they cannot play a part in Kinnock's drive to be Prime Minister. All they can do is provide embarrassment by their willingness to fight. Only a hermetically sealed Labour Party, sealed against the influence of black people, the unemployed and the oppressed, can hope to gain the middle class votes the opportunists dearly want if they are to walk the corridors of government again. Kinnock's reference to maggots has a certain aptness. It is the absolute rottenness of the Labour Party which the defeat of Liverpool City Council has exposed.

Robert Clough

## More scandal rises from City sewers

Ever since its election in 1979, the Thatcher government, champion of the entrepreneur and freebooter, has singlemindedly set about robbing the poor to line the pockets of the rich. As Thatcher sets her sights on a third term in Downing Street, this trend is escalating with a new round of sales of nationalised industries, in a bid to bring about tax cuts before the next election without having to increase government borrowing.

Sales of assets since 1979 have brought in approximately £7.2 billion, even with part of the revenue from the British Telecom sale still to come. Over the next three years the government aims to double this to bring in £14.25 billion. The largest will be British Gas — from which they aim to get £6-£8 billion. The enabling bill for the sale is being rushed through Parliament and will become law by summer 1986. Kinnock is supposedly mounting a 'major offensive' against the sale, with NALGO and the GMBATU, the main unions involved. However, there is no chance that this combination will succeed where the miners failed. Further sell-offs include Rolls Royce, Thames Water, and part of British Steel and British Leyland.

Thatcher's privatisations take place under the guise of bringing thousands of 'ordinary people' into share ownership. Among the 'ordinary people' in the British Telecom flotation were two major companies who broke all the rules by buying massive numbers of shares under fictitious names, thereby making millions. The Director of Public Prosecutions has, however, decided not to prosecute — to do so would, of course, only highlight the monstrous financial crimes which the Thatcher government is carrying out. The 'right' to own shares is hardly likely to be of concern to the unemployed, the young, the old and the dying, upon whose heads Thatcher's blows fall. In the same week that the British Gas sale was announced to finance tax cuts which mainly benefit the better off, a further £185 million cut in capital spending on council houses was announced.

However, the atmosphere of unbridled profiteering which has flourished under Thatcher is now being hampered by more revelations in the City scandals surrounding Lloyds insurance brokers and Johnson Matthey Bankers (see FRFI 52 *Something Nasty in the City*). The continuing revelations about JMB are due almost entirely to the efforts

of Labour MP Brian Sedgmore. He was recently suspended for five days from the House of Commons for refusing to withdraw his accusation that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had 'perverted the course of justice' in covering up the affair. Since then the police have announced that there is evidence of fraud against the bank and the head of the Fraud Squad has written to Sedgmore asking that he does not continue to make public his information in Parliament. Sedgmore's response was to make public the letter and to publish a reply which repeated his accusations against the Bank of England, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the police. Sedgmore's actions have been completely unsupported by Kinnock and other leading Labour MPs. Indeed, John Silkin, millionaire and Labour MP for Deptford, was a business associate of Abdul Shamji, friend of Thatcher and Tebbit, who owes JMB £20 million.

In addition, an 80-page report has just been sent to the DPP about fraud in Lloyds insurance brokers. One case, involving Lloyds brokers Alexander Howdey, entailed the loss of \$55 million of investors' money. The second, more recent case, involves PCW syndicates, owned by a Lloyds broker, and involves the 'loss' of anything between £40m and £130m of investors' money. An accountant's report reveals that two leading figures in the scandal 'earned' £6.5 million and £8.4 million apiece. Sedgmore alleges that the ex-chairman of Lloyds, Sir Peter Green, has a 'close business relationship' with these two.

These massive crimes are nothing more than we have come to expect from Thatcher's friends in the City. Britain's position as a centre of international financial racketeering is not only a reflection of a vicious, grasping Tory government, but also of a spineless and compliant parliamentary Labour Party, which, by its refusal to back up Sedgmore, is allowing the Tories to cover up.

Olivia Adamson

## Uprising in Amsterdam

The recent urban riots in England were reported with a sense of smug self-satisfaction by the Dutch media: such events couldn't happen here, they argued, because the social conditions were completely different. On 24 October 1985, those illusions were shattered. This document is a diary of events which, in England, are already all too familiar.

The Staatsliedenbuurt, a poverty-ridden neighbourhood in West Amsterdam, is the centre of the kraakbeweging (squatters' movement) in Holland. Until recently, the police were rarely seen in the area; they were perceived as racist and sexist invaders who had nothing to offer but an extension of the repressive apparatus which pervaded the rest of the city. On 23 October 1985, a collection of documents was handed to the media. Most of them labelled confidential or secret, they had been given to the Woongroep Staatsliedenbuurt (the directing influence of the squatters' movement) by a policeman who was disturbed by their obvious fascist inspiration. They contained the minutes of meetings between senior civil servants and high ranking police officers; secret instructions for manipulating the press and public opinion in cases involving confrontations with the squatters; confidential memoranda concerning a strategic assault on the Staatsliedenbuurt; and a clear declaration to all the police officers in the new District 8 police station that they could use firearms at their own discretion — with guaranteed protection from possible criminal or civil proceedings.

On 24 October, a woman, Petra, and her infant daughter were evicted. About five hours later squatters

attempt to resquat the flat. Riot squads arrive and immediately attack people on the streets, including, according to eyewitnesses, a group of children on their way home. There is fighting in the streets and squatters in the flat are handcuffed and beaten. Police dogs are let free to attack at will, many people are injured. Those arrested are bussed out of the neighbourhood, the streets are cleared, and a massive surveillance/control operation is set in motion. In less than eight hours, a potential confrontation became a basic civil war situation. At this stage, there were no deaths, simply many people severely wounded — including one with a bullet — and 33 arrests. The police and riot squads are in control, but their hold on the neighbourhood is precarious.

Next day, as squatters demonstrate and riot squads attack, a news report on television informs everyone that one of the arrested squatters is dead — the police immediately issue a report that the prisoner, Hans Kok, was 'a known junkie'. More people join the demonstration/fighting. Riot squads are reinforced and attempt to encircle the fighters; many people are beaten, gassed, arrested. The Staatsliedenbuurt is encircled and CS gas is fired indiscriminately into the neighbourhood.

Hans Kok was one of the first people arrested and removed from the flat on 24 October. A photograph taken at the time shows no immediate evidence of physical damage. When his death was announced, the police stated that he was unharmed and that the cause of death was unknown.

Just after midnight, the actions began to gather pace: civil service offices were attacked, windows broken, fires started. Two buildings were burned to the ground. Molotov cocktails were used in answer to the

CS gas and truncheons. Police cars were fire-bombed. More people arrested. The news spread and solidarity actions began to occur outside Amsterdam: flaming barricades of tyres in Nijmegen; windows broken, fires started, cars damaged, buildings raided for official documents in Utrecht. Saturday brought reactions from outside Holland, the most significant being in Berlin and Frankfurt. The actions continue. And the struggle continues...

Alan Reeve

(Alan Reeve is an English prisoner who this year completed a 62-day hunger strike in a Dutch gaol. FRFI also received a report on the events of October 24/25 from Stichting reel, Witten kade, 110hs, 1051 Amsterdam, Holland).

40  
MINERS  
ARE STILL  
IN GAOL

620  
ARE STILL  
SACKED

FRFI sends solidarity greetings to all these miners and their families for Christmas and the New Year

Donations to the 'Miners Solidarity Fund' should be sent c/o NUM, St James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield



Dean Hancock serving 8 years

## Further setbacks for Scargill and NUM

At the end of the miners' strike, Ian MacGregor said 'People are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection — and boy are we going to make it stick.' He has been true to his word. Since the end of the strike there has been a deliberate attempt to smash the NUM and Scargill's influence. The NCB's strategy — its fostering of the divisions in the NUM and its direct involvement in the growth of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM), has even involved attempted bribery of NUM officials in moderate areas.

5 December saw the NUM Executive surrendering their final token of resistance when they reversed a decision to defy the NCB's demand for a written acceptance of their incentive scheme before pay negotiations can start. Acceptance of the scheme will deepen the divisions between areas, pits and even individual miners, and marks a severe defeat for Arthur

Scargill who has always opposed such divisive schemes. The Executive's capitulation (the vote was 12-6) was a reflection of the growing strength of the UDM, which has already accepted a pay deal tied to an incentive scheme and is now claiming 45,000 members. Agcroft Colliery in Lancashire voted to join the UDM in November, with a further Lancashire pit to ballot. Three days before the NUM Executive met, Leicester NUM voted by 3-1 to ballot on whether the area should form a 'breakaway organisation'. Two days before the Executive meeting, the NCB announced the creation of a new 'superpit' in Warwickshire. In the same area as the huge UDM-dominated Daw Mills pit, the new pit is expected to produce 3 million tonnes a year, making it the largest in the country.

A further defeat on the Executive for Scargill resulted in his apology to the court in order to remove the sequestration order on NUM funds. However, this still leaves £10.2 million in the hands of the receivers. It could be months before the NUM gets the money.

On the other hand, Scargill re-

ceived a boost from the election of one of his supporters, Des Dutfield, as President of South Wales NUM, replacing Emyln Williams who retires this year. Dutfield, who led a stay-down strike at Ty-Mawr-Merthyr Colliery three years ago, stood against a leading Kinnock supporter, Terry Thomas, who was widely tipped to win. The vote was 7,222 to 4,680. It is no accident that Scargill's support remains strongest in the less productive pits and areas which have most to lose in face of competition from the new superpits worked by UDM scabs on high bonuses.

On 12 December came the welcome news that the Law Lords have upheld a Court of Appeal decision to quash the murder convictions of two South Wales miners, Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland. They will now serve 8 years instead of life sentences. FRFI sends greetings and solidarity to them and their families. They are being held in HMP Gartree, Leicester Road, Market Harborough, Leicestershire LE16 7RP.

Olivia Adamson



## Wandsworth prisoner beaten and charged with assault

Wandsworth prisoner John Ryan is facing assault charges after being beaten up by prison officers. John arrived at Wandsworth on 16 September. He was immediately harassed and, within weeks, lost 17 days remission on trumped up charges.

On Saturday 5 October, according to a statement supplied to *FRFI*, Wandsworth prison officers launched a violent assault on John Ryan just before he was due to appear before the Governor on yet another charge. Up to 10 officers were involved. John was punched and kicked; his arms, legs, neck and testicles twisted; his face banged on the floor; an ear stud was ripped from his ear. Afterwards he was bruised all over, bleeding, and in severe pain.

Later that day, about 3pm, John asked for medical attention and was given aspirin water. By 5pm on Sunday 6 October John was having difficulty breathing. He asked for medical attention again. A 'medical officer' came and went to fetch a doctor. John passed out and came to in St James Hospital Balham. He was returned to Wandsworth hospital wing at 10.30pm that night.

Monday morning arrived and brought charges of assault against prison officers with it. The charges have not yet been heard.

It is clear from John Ryan's case, and more recent reports of brutality in the punishment block, that systematic assaults on prisoners are continuing in Wandsworth prison.

Terry O'Halloran

## PTA arrests used to harass six Irish activists

Following the discovery of two plastic bags containing explosives outside Chelsea army barracks on 11 November, the police took the opportunity to make numerous arrests.

Eight people in Belfast, including four IRSP supporters, and a further six in London, were arrested under the PTA. The six included a Labour Committee on Ireland member, Conor Foley, and Brendan O'Rourke of Lambeth Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG). O'Rourke stated in the *Irish Post* that ten police with a sniffer dog sledge-hammered their way through his front door at 7.15am on 13 November and arrested them both. They were released after 37 hours, amidst growing protest from the IBRG and public figures. O'Rourke said that he had refused all police questions until he had seen his solicitor. All six were released without charge. Subsequently police have arrested and charged another man in connection with the Chelsea barracks incident.

Such detentions form only one part of the PTA's use. Every year 45,000 people on average are stopped under the Act. Since 1974 500,000 people have been stopped. This represents a vast surveillance and intelligence gathering exercise. Now that the PTA has been extended, other people are under attack. Between March 1984 and September 1985, 92 people were detained under the extended provisions: 31 were deported.

Tony Sheridan

## Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas

# Faith in the system

'Pure Marxist theology'—that's how Fleet Street and a Cabinet Minister greeted the report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas (a polite name for slums). Such was the hysterical response of a government which will brook no criticism, especially when it comes from a section of its own class. Unfortunately, it is about as Marxist as Roy Hattersley, but it does at least provide us with some valuable information.

England's slums are mainly inner-city areas in London, the Midlands, and the North, plus some isolated modern council estates on the edges of northern cities (Scotland and Wales's even worse slums are totally ignored by the Report). They share high rates of unemployment, decay and overcrowded housing, second-rate health and education facilities, high rates of petty crime, and large numbers of single-parent families and pensioners living on their own. The typical resident of Wakefield or Central Manchester is 50% more likely to die tomorrow than a 'similar' resident of Hampstead.

Unemployment rates are twice the national average in whole cities like Birmingham and Liverpool, which had rates of 22% even in 1981, when the official national average was only 9%. In some slum areas the figures rise to 50% and higher, and always the young, the old, and black people are more likely to be unemployed. The Scarman Report estimated that in Brixton 55% of black youth under 19 were unemployed,

compared to 15% of the Lambeth workforce as a whole.

The Report tells us 'chances of mobility for men of working-class origin polarised between 1972 and 1983 as the opportunities for upward mobility continued, while the chances of unemployment also rose'. The section which shrunk was manual workers—'by 1981 there were nearly 2½ million fewer manual worker jobs in the UK than in the early 1970s'—and it is this group, and households without wage-earners, which cannot escape from the slums, while those who achieve 'upward mobility' move out to more attractive areas. Thus the slums reflect the widening split in the British working class.

It is no accident that black people are concentrated in these areas—the British state even uses the size of an area's black population as one measure of whether an area is deprived! The racism of educators and employers ensures that black people have less chance of a decent job; and their low incomes plus the racism of private and council landlords ensure

they are forced into the only housing that is readily available—that in the slums.

The life of people in these areas has been steadily worsened by government spending and benefit cuts. The Rate Support Grant to local authorities in the poorest urban areas fell in real terms by 22% from 1981/82 to 1984/85. Indeed, 'the only main central government expenditure programme to have shown a significant growth in the inner cities in real terms since 1979 is that on the police'.

These cuts are justified on the grounds that people must 'stand on their own two feet' if the British economy is to recover. The Report exposes the hypocrisy of this argument by looking into housing subsidies. It shows that council rents have risen by 150% since 1979/80, with the result that council housing is no longer subsidised by the state and in some places makes a profit. Meanwhile, tax relief on mortgages has resulted in a steady increase in subsidies to owner-occupiers, which now total £3½ billion a year. The richest owner-occupiers benefit most—those on £30,000 a year benefit by £1,290 a year, compared to £430 for those on £9,000 a year. So while the poor have to stand on their own two feet, the rich are exempt! This is hardly surprising when owner-occupiers now account

for 63% of households and all the major political parties are desperately courting their votes.

It is typical of the Report, however, that after this shocking exposure, all it can recommend is a 'review' of the system of housing finance. Its other recommendations are equally weak, and most amount to nothing more than demands for more money for the inner cities. The Commission does not understand why British manufacturing industry is in decline, with the consequence of rising unemployment and deteriorating slums, and so has no answers on how to regenerate it.

The Church of England, a thoroughly middle-class institution (1/3 of the Anglican clergy attended public school, compared with only 1/16 of the population as a whole), is only interested in urban slums because it is gradually losing the little support it ever had there, and because it fears the anger building up there. It is losing ground today mainly because it is so clearly racist and class-ridden. Many black Christians, for example, who were members of British churches in the Caribbean were driven out of Anglican churches in Britain and joined independent black churches—just one, the New Testament Church of God, has grown from 10,000 in 1966 to 30,000 today.

The Commission fears not only Anglican decline but also the people of the inner cities—with typical euphemism it writes 'if the present pattern of decline continues it will bring wider effects which will touch all our lives'. It sees 'hostility to the police', as a comparable problem to 'mugging, rape, violence, (and) vandalism', and recommends that the Church stand alongside the police in encouraging 'the role of "community" in maintaining order and preventing crime'. It thinks Britain has a 'long and honourable tradition of policing' and that the police have learned from 1981 to become less racist.

In other words, the Commission stands firmly behind the British state, and blames the people, not the state, for the confrontations which have occurred in the inner cities and elsewhere. It wishes to maintain its religion as 'the opium of the people', sweetened with extra government cash to lighten the burden of the oppressed and keep them in the fold. Its report is the Anglican equivalent of a Labour Party manifesto.

Dave Hunter

## Unemployment rate worse for youth Tory sweatshops no answer to youth unemployment

A recent report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows a dramatic worsening of youth unemployment throughout the capitalist nations. In the four major OECD European countries—Britain, France, Germany and Italy—1 in 4 are jobless. In the entire OECD youth unemployment rose by 50% from 1979-1982. No improvement is forecast.

British youth have borne the brunt of the crisis. The YTS scheme keeps 398,000 off dole statistics, forces down wages and creates a supply of cheap labour. Propaganda about 'training' has lost all credibility: one third drop out of it and an equal number remain jobless after it. While YTS will increase to 2 years from 1 April 1986, funding is being cut. By increasing employer's financial liability for the extended scheme, Thatcher is ensuring that firms will only employ youth as cheap labour without giving real training.

YTS is racist, sexist and dangerous. A report from Birmingham revealed that Mode 'A' schemes—offering a better chance of employment—took 94.9% white school

leavers. The vast majority of young women in YTS are in 'traditional' areas: clerical or sales schemes. YTS and its forerunner, YOP, have claimed 35 young lives since 1979, in addition to many injuries. Parents of dead trainees have received the child's death grant of £22.50; others got 'compensation' of £78.

Tory plans include compulsory YTS. Thatcher claims that youth 'should not have the option of being unemployed.' This year Chief Education Officers were told they have a duty to inform the DHSS of YTS refusals. The proposal to withdraw all Supplementary Benefit from youth who reject 'training' is under consideration.

The social security system itself is nearing collapse. As predicted, the

Tories have finally pushed through rules that massively cut board and lodging payments for young people. Despite a High Court ruling that the regulations were illegal Social Services Secretary Norman Fowler has revised the wording to get them through Parliament without waiting for a court appeal. Now all new claimants will be forced to move every two, three or four weeks; throwing tens of thousands of homeless youth into a rootless existence.

In the Commons debate of 20 November, Social Security Minister Tony Newton spoke of youth 'leaving home at the drop of a hat to pick up large sums of taxpayers' money'. In reality, it has been profiteering landlords who have benefitted from the massive rise in board and lodging payments from £50m to £380m since 1979. One private company, Park Hotels plc, chaired by Peter Laister of BUPA, aims at £200,000 annual profit and offer investors 60% tax relief under the Government's business expansion scheme. It is the

Tories' friends who are picking up large amounts of the taxpayers' money from homelessness caused by cuts in housing expenditure.

Ignoring public opinion as well as Parliament, the Tories are implementing the benefit cuts outlined in Fowler's 'consultative' green paper (of 7,000 responses 98% were hostile). Cuts in housing and child benefit at the end of November amounted to £230m per annum. Treasury figures show that child benefit is worth less in real terms than in 1979. Fowler's white paper on benefits which now has Cabinet approval, retains a residual state pension scheme: however, other benefits will be cut by a staggering £1bn over two years to pay for this.

On the other side of the DHSS counter, staff unions have begun a campaign of industrial action. With 10,000 jobs cut in six years, and SB claimants up from 2½ to 5 million in the same period, DHSS workers simply cannot cope. The results: illness and psychiatric disorders among staff, counter windows smashed on average 12 times a week in four inner London offices; and in one office, the doors are shut on the queue at 11am each day.

Dave Burton

## POLICE FILE



### Sad absence

Regular readers will have noticed that Police File shrunk last month to a size that rendered it invisible. The fact that the authors failed to write it in no way excuses the political decision already made to exclude it for one issue. Supporters will therefore be glad to see us back again in a new home on page 3. And so is Alf Parrish, woe-begotten ex-chief of Derbyshire Police. Alf thought he'd got off scot-free by retiring early through 'ill-health'. He will retain his large pension, but allegations of financial irregularities may now be the subject of a public enquiry. Alf is feeling even sicker.

### Beware snoopers

Police are using willing local touts as the basis of a network of low grade intelligence gathering, according to documents leaked to the *Observer* newspaper.

The news confirms that the aim of 'Community Policing' is the amassing of information about the community, discovering who people mix with, the movements and activities of militants, and any of the kind of low grade gossip, apparently irrelevant facts and material which General Kitson describes in his book, *Low Intensity Operations*, and which the British Army already practises in the Six Counties of Ireland.

The *Observer* documents concern over the system established by the Lothian and Border force in Scotland. Constables are told to supply domestic gossip about local residents to station 'collators', and to 'secure the services of at least one informant in every street, not particularly paid informants, but someone who knows the inhabitants and is inquisitive enough to find out what is going on'.

The information need not—and rarely does—relate to criminal activities. Various reports made by police in Lothian concern the presence of homosexuals in a house, the information that a woman is three months pregnant, and the allegation that a youth is a glue sniffer. A report describes how a woman was searched for drugs. None were found, but five addresses were recorded from her address book.

Once collated this often malicious and inaccurate information is collated on card index or computer system. The purpose is to have a grip on any potentially hostile or risen community, to enable the easy identification, isolation and arrest of its leaders.

From these documents, also found in the Merseyside force, it becomes clear that individuals who are seen regularly talking to the police are dangerous and should be shunned. Talking to the police on a casual basis may even lead to giving them what is important information, even if it seems totally irrelevant to you. This is why in the Nationalist communities in Ireland no one ever talks to RUC or Army officers. The British police, and their network of fascist, criminal, or merely dim-witted informants must be isolated from local communities by a barrage of silence.





Councillor Tony Mulhearn enters the NEC enquiry

## Liverpool City Council defeated by Kinnock

In launching a witch hunt against Militant and the Liverpool District Labour Party, Kinnock has once again made plain to the working class what the Labour Party really is — a party of the privileged. The witch hunt sets the seal on the defeat of the Labour City Council in its fight against Tory rate-capping. The Liverpool City Council was the last council to defy Tory spending cuts — scarcely surprising in a city with perhaps the highest proportion of the underprivileged. Yet in the end, the tactics that it followed allowed the opportunist leadership of the labour movement to isolate and destroy it.

It is perhaps difficult to remember that when the City Council launched its struggle against the government, it had massive support. In March 1984, tens of thousands struck and marched in support of its defiance of government stipulations that it either massively increase its rates or sack up to 5,000 workers. In the following 18 months, that support was dissipated, the DLP and Militant progressively isolated. A new caucus, 'Liverpool Labour Left', has been established, with a plat-

form of abject capitulation. This group of opportunists, united only by its cowardice, is being groomed to replace Militant as the leadership of the DLP when Militant is kicked out. With such a group in control of the local Labour Party, Kinnock will be assured that there will be no political embarrassment in his drive to be elected Prime Minister.

The period of the Liverpool City Council's struggle has been most instructive, however. It proved conclusively that to resist the onslaught

of this government, the only reliable support will come from the most oppressed. Throughout this period, the DLP had attempted to ride two horses at once: it had tried to retain the support of the opportunists and the mass of the local working class at the same time. It ended up doing neither.

Constantly the City Council prevaricated, trying to postpone the final confrontation. It repeated time and again that it had the support of the national leadership, at a time when this was patently untrue. To retain this mythical support, the Council agreed to the establishment of the Stonefrost commission — which recommended a substantial rate rise, an option rejected by the Council. The end came for the council on 22 November in the form of a loan from a consortium of Swiss banks. The terms include what the

Labour leaders had demanded all along: that the Council adopt the capitalisation option, by moving money from its revenue account into its capital account, and that it sets a legal budget. While staving off the crisis in the short term, the effect will be a sharp rate rise and cuts in jobs and services as the loan repayments, no doubt at a hefty rate of interest, fall due.

In the line-up of opportunism, a small but significant role was played by the Communist Party. Its position, and that expressed by the *Morning Star*, was that the City Council should have taken Kinnock's advice and set a balanced budget in April — in other words, it was against any fight from the beginning. The Secretary of the local NUT, Jim Ferguson, went to court to try and get a legal rate set, and refused to allow a ballot of NUT members over the strike call in September. This stand was supported by NUPE, whose officials such as Jane Alexander, are prominent in the witch hunt.

The language of Kinnock now that he has successfully defeated the City Council knows no bounds. 'Maggots', 'aliens', his reference to the need for a psychiatrist to explain the behaviour of the City Councilors, are the phrases of a complete reactionary. Although the witch hunt is conveniently presented as being directed against Militant, Militant supporters make up less than a third of the 49 councillors. The aim of the witch hunt is to seal the Labour Party off completely and finally from any influence of those who want to resist Tory attacks. The oppressed don't bother to vote, so they cannot play a part in Kinnock's drive to be Prime Minister. All they can do is provide embarrassment by their willingness to fight. Only a hermetically sealed Labour Party, sealed against the influence of black people, the unemployed and the oppressed, can hope to gain the middle class votes the opportunists dearly want if they are to walk the corridors of government again. Kinnock's reference to maggots has a certain aptness. It is the absolute rottenness of the Labour Party which the defeat of Liverpool City Council has exposed.

Robert Clough

## More scandal rises from City sewers

Ever since its election in 1979, the Thatcher government, champion of the entrepreneur and freebooter, has singlemindedly set about robbing the poor to line the pockets of the rich. As Thatcher sets sights on a third term in Downing Street, this trend is escalating with a new round of sales of nationalised industries, in a bid to bring about tax cuts before the next election without having to increase government borrowing.

Sales of assets since 1979 have brought in approximately £7.2 billion, even with part of the revenue from the British Telecom sale still to come. Over the next three years the government aims to double this to bring in £14.25 billion. The largest will be British Gas — from which they aim to get £6-£8 billion. The enabling bill for the sale is being rushed through Parliament and will become law by summer 1986. Kinnock is supposedly mounting a 'major offensive' against the sale, with NALGO and the GMBATU, the main unions involved. However, there is no chance that this combination will succeed where the miners failed. Further sell-offs include Rolls Royce, Thames Water, and part of British Steel and British Leyland.

Thatcher's privatisations take place under the guise of bringing thousands of 'ordinary people' into share ownership. Among the 'ordinary people' in the British Telecom flotation were two major companies who broke all the rules by buying massive numbers of shares under fictitious names, thereby making millions. The Director of Public Prosecutions has, however, decided not to prosecute — to do so would, of course, only highlight the monstrous financial crimes which the Thatcher government is carrying out. The 'right' to own shares is hardly likely to be of concern to the unemployed, the young, the old and the dying, upon whose heads Thatcher's blows fall. In the same week that the British Gas sale was announced to finance tax cuts which mainly benefit the better off, a further £185 million cut in capital spending on council houses was announced.

However, the atmosphere of unbridled profiteering which has flourished under Thatcher is now being hampered by more revelations in the City scandals surrounding Lloyds insurance brokers and Johnson Matthey Bankers (see FRFI 52 *Something Nasty in the City*). The continuing revelations about JMB are due almost entirely to the efforts

of Labour MP Brian Sedgmore. He was recently suspended for five days from the House of Commons for refusing to withdraw his accusation that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had 'perverted the course of justice' in covering up the affair. Since then the police have announced that there is evidence of fraud against the bank and the head of the Fraud Squad has written Sedgmore asking that he does not continue to make public his information in Parliament. Sedgmore's response was to make public a letter and to publish a reply which repeated his accusations against the Bank of England, the Chancellor, the Exchequer and the police. Sedgmore's actions have been completely unsupported by Kinnock and other leading Labour MPs. Indeed, John Silkin, millionaire and Labour MP for Deptford, was a business associate of Abdul Shamji, friend of Thatcher and Tebbit, who owns JMB £20 million.

In addition, an 80-page report has just been sent to the DPP about fraud in Lloyds insurance brokers. One case, involving Lloyds broker Alexander Howden, entailed the loss of \$55 million of investors' money. The second, more recent case, involves PCW syndicates, owned by Lloyds broker, and involves a 'loss' of anything between £40m and £130m of investors' money. An accountant's report reveals that the leading figures in the scandal 'earned' £6.5 million and £1 million apiece. Sedgmore alleges that the ex-chairman of Lloyds, Peter Green, has a 'close business relationship' with these two.

These massive crimes are nothing more than we have come to expect from Thatcher's friends in the City. Britain's position as a centre of international financial racketeering is not only a reflection of a vicious grasping Tory government, but also of a spineless and compliant parliamentary Labour Party, which, in its refusal to back up Sedgmore, is allowing the Tories to cover up.

Olivia Adams

## Uprising in Amsterdam

The recent urban riots in England were reported with a sense of smug self-satisfaction by the Dutch media: such events couldn't happen here, they argued, because the social conditions were completely different. On 24 October 1985, those illusions were shattered. This document is a diary of events which, in England, are already all too familiar.

The Staatsliedenbuurt, a poverty-ridden neighbourhood in West Amsterdam, is the centre of the kraakbeweging (squatters' movement) in Holland. Until recently, the police were rarely seen in the area; they were perceived as racist and sexist invaders who had nothing to offer but an extension of the repressive apparatus which pervades the rest of the city. On 23 October 1985, a collection of documents was handed to the media. Most of them labelled confidential or secret, they had been given by the Woongroep Staatsliedenbuurt (the directing influence of the squatters' movement) by a policeman who was disturbed by their obvious fascist inspiration. They contained the minutes of meetings between senior civil servants and high ranking police officers; secret instructions for manipulating the press and public opinion in cases involving confrontations with the squatters; confidential memoranda concerning a strategic assault on the Staatsliedenbuurt; and a clear declaration to all the police officers in the new District 8 police station that they could use firearms at their own discretion — with guaranteed protection from possible criminal or civil proceedings.

On 24 October, a woman, Petra, and her infant daughter were evicted. About five hours later squatters

attempt to resquat the flat. Riot squads arrive and immediately attack people on the streets, including, according to eyewitnesses, a group of children on their way home. There is fighting in the streets and squatters in the flat are handcuffed and beaten. Police dogs are let free to attack at will, many people are injured. Those arrested are bussed out of the neighbourhood, the streets are cleared, and a massive surveillance/control operation is set in motion. In less than eight hours, a potential confrontation became a basic civil war situation. At this stage, there were no deaths, simply many people severely wounded — including one with a bullet — and 33 arrests. The police and riot squads are in control, but their hold on the neighbourhood is precarious.

Next day, as squatters demonstrate and riot squads attack, a news report on television informs everyone that one of the arrested squatters is dead — the police immediately issue a report that the prisoner, Hans Kok, was 'a known junkie'. More people join the demonstration/fighting. Riot squads are reinforced and attempt to encircle the fighters; many people are beaten, gassed, arrested. The Staatsliedenbuurt is encircled and CS gas is fired indiscriminately into the neighbourhood.

Hans Kok was one of the first people arrested and removed from the flat on 24 October. A photograph taken at the time shows no immediate evidence of physical damage. When his death was announced, the police stated that he was unbruised and that the cause of death was unknown.

Just after midnight, the actions began to gather pace: civil service offices were attacked, windows broken, fires started. Two buildings were burned to the ground. Molotov cocktails were used in answer to the

CS gas and truncheons. Police cars were fire-bombed. More people arrested. The news spread and solidarity actions began to occur outside Amsterdam: flaming barricades of tyres in Nijmegen; windows broken, fires started, cars damaged, buildings raided for official documents in Utrecht. Saturday brought reactions from outside Holland, the most significant being in Berlin and Frankfurt. The actions continue. And the struggle continues...

Alan Reeve

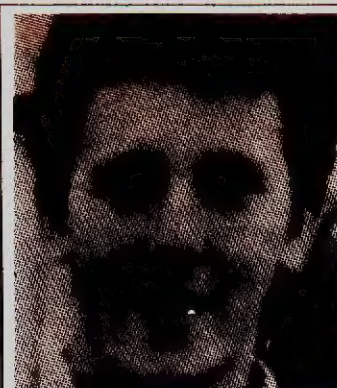
(Alan Reeve is an English prisoner who this year completed a 62-day hunger strike in a Dutch gaol. FRFI also received a report on the events of October 24/25 from Stichting reel, Wittenkade, 110hs, 1051 Amsterdam, Holland).

40  
MINERS  
ARE STILL  
IN GAOL

620  
ARE STILL  
SACKED

FRFI sends solidarity greetings to all these miners and their families for Christmas and the New Year

Donations to the 'Miners Solidarity Fund' should be sent c/o NUM, St James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield



Dean Hancock serving 8 years

## Further setbacks for Scargill and NUM

At the end of the miners' strike, Ian MacGregor said 'People are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection — and boy are we going to make it stick.' He has been true to his word. Since the end of the strike there has been a deliberate attempt to smash the NUM and Scargill's influence. The NCB's strategy — its fostering of the divisions in the NUM and its direct involvement in the growth of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM), has even involved attempted bribery of NUM officials in moderate areas.

5 December saw the NUM Executive surrendering their final token of resistance when they reversed a decision to defy the NCB's demand for a written acceptance of their incentive scheme before pay negotiations can start. Acceptance of the scheme will deepen the divisions between areas, pits and even individual miners, and marks a severe defeat for Arthur

Scargill who has always opposed such divisive schemes. The Executive's capitulation (the vote was 12-6) was a reflection of the growing strength of the UDM, which has already accepted a pay deal tied to an incentive scheme and is now claiming 45,000 members. Agcroft Colliery in Lancashire voted to join the UDM in November, with a further Lancashire pit to ballot. Three days before the NUM Executive met, Leicester NUM voted by 3-1 to ballot on whether the area should form a 'breakaway organisation'. Two days before the Executive meeting, the NCB announced the creation of a new 'superpit' in Warwickshire. In the same area as the huge UDM-dominated Daw Mills pit, the new pit is expected to produce 3 million tonnes a year, making it the largest in the country.

A further defeat on the Executive for Scargill resulted in his apology to the court in order to remove the sequestration order on NUM funds. However, this still leaves £10.2 million in the hands of the receivers. It could be months before the NUM gets the money.

On the other hand, Scargill re-

ceived a boost from the election of one of his supporters, Des Dutton as President of South Wales NUM, replacing Emlyn Williams who tires this year. Dutton, who stood against a leading Kinnock supporter, Terry Thomas, who was widely tipped to win. The vote was 7,222 to 4,680. It is no accident that Scargill's support remains strong in the less productive pits and areas which have most to lose in face competition from the new superpits worked by UDM scabs on bonuses.

On 12 December came the welcome news that the Law Lords have upheld a Court of Appeal decision to quash the murder convictions of two South Wales miners, Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland. They will serve 8 years instead of life sentences. FRFI sends greetings and solidarity to them and their families. They are being held in HMP Gartree, Leicester Road, Market Harborough, Leicestershire LE16 7RP.

Olivia Adams



# SOUTHERN AFRICA

## APARTHEID FAILS TO QUELL REVOLT

continued from page 1

And at this crucial stage in the struggle a new trades union federation has been formed, representing half a million black workers. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has been formed at a time when the black working class grows increasingly militant and politicised. COSATU with its commitment to fighting for liberation as well as for higher wages and better working conditions gives an organised expression to this.

On 9 December a significant political victory was scored by the United Democratic Front (UDF), when 12 of the Treason Trial 16 had all the charges of 'High Treason' against them dropped. The remaining four are all members of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), a revolutionary independent black trade union, whose leaders and members have been persecuted by the regime for many years. In effect the prosecution fell apart over the issue of the attempt to connect the activities of the UDF with the banned ANC. A battle must be waged now to free the remaining four who are viewed by the state as a major threat to their rule.

### Massacre at Mamelodi

On 21 November some 50,000 black people, led by thousands of women, marched onto the office of the Mayor of Mamelodi, near Pretoria. Their demands were lower rents, the resignation of the township councillors, the lifting of all restrictions on funerals of those killed by the police, and the removal of the soliders and police from their township.

According to eye-witness accounts, the police, without issuing any warning, fired teargas canisters into the crowd and then started shooting at them as they tried to run away. Just as in the slaughter of mourners in Langa, many of the victims were shot in the back. The police deny this version of events and also refuse to confirm that the helicopter hovering above the crowd fired down teargas canisters and live ammunition. Their cover-up will continue, and the 'official' death toll remains at 13. The full extent of the terror of that day might never be known, but at least 10 black people lie paralysed in hospital. Amongst the victims of the massacre at Mamelodi were a 70 year old woman shot in the back, a 63 year old woman and a 20 months old baby who died of suffocation from the tear gas fumes. On the same day as the demonstration, Mamelodi workers had gone on strike in support of the demands above. Youth supported them in turn by erecting road blocks to prevent buses taking any of those still working to work in Pretoria.

On 3 December the funeral of all those killed was a magnificent show of strength and defiance—50,000 danced and sang freedom songs, knowing their task was to mobilise and not mourn. Winnie Mandela, in defiance of her banning order and order to return to her place of banishment in Brandfort in the Orange Free State, addressed the mourners with the words, 'The blood of our heroes will be avenged'. Each of the coffins was draped with the colours of the African National Congress.

The funeral of 14 black people murdered in two days of fighting with the people in Mlungisi, near Queenstown in the Eastern Cape, was equally a display to strike fear into the hearts of the Boers. 10,000 black people sang revolutionary songs and the youth dressed in khaki uniforms and in the colours of the ANC brandished hand-made wooden sub-machine guns and revolvers, and enacted scenes where the white racists were gunned down in a shower of bullets.

### Militant workers organise and fight back

On 1 December 10,000 black people, including 900 delegates from 34 trade unions, gathered in Durban to launch the largest trades union federation in South Africa's history. COSATU represents half a million black workers from all the major sectors of the economy. It includes the members of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU—which has now dissolved),

the general unions affiliated to the UDF and some of the independent black unions such as the militant National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), and Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union. Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU, received a tumultuous response when he issued P W Botha with an ultimatum—to abolish the pass laws in six months or face a campaign of mass civil disobedience, when 'we will burn our passes'. He made it clear that COSATU would not only be fighting in the workplace, but 'it is going to concentrate on the townships, and on politics as well'.

COSATU demanded the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of the police and army from the townships, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the repeal of orders restricting individuals and outlawing organisations. It gives its support to disinvestment campaigns and sanctions, and warned that any attempt to repatriate the one and a half million migrant workers in retaliation for the call for sanctions would be met by a national strike.

The formation of COSATU, with its commitment to playing not only a militant industrial rôle but also a powerful political one, comes at a time when hun-

BTR-SARMCOL in Howick in Natal, where 950 black workers have been sacked, have continued to be fierce. Police opened fire on the sacked workers on 15 November killing one man and injuring many others.

### Resistance to evictions

In the townships of the Vaal Triangle, where the risings started over a year ago, the authorities are taking action to end the rent boycott which has been in existence for the last 14 months. The Lekoa Town Council which covers 6 Vaal townships has now started serving summonses on some of its rent-defaulters—some 350,000 people. The rest of the community has rallied behind them and demanded that the council 'take action against all of us', as most of the residents in the Vaal townships have refused to pay any rent in support of their demands that rents be reduced to R30 a month, and that the Lekoa Council resign. A measure of their success—the 12 vacancies to the council have only had one contestant in two by-elections!

### Community boycotts

The consumer boycott of white businesses is spreading and is beginning to have the desired effect. In Port Elizabeth in



1 December: A mass rally in Durban. Elijah Barayi, president of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions is carried shoulder high by singing and chanting workers.

dreds of thousands of workers are engaged in bitter struggles in their communities as well as workplaces.

### Baragwanath hospital strike

On 13 November over two thirds of the entire workforce—about 900 student nurses and 1,000 auxiliary workers—at the Baragwanath hospital in Soweto were dismissed after they went on strike for better pay and work conditions. The hospital which serves over a million residents of Soweto, as well as other black townships, came to a standstill and the army had to be called in to run the catering and cleaning services. On 13 November nearly 800 of the workers (mainly women) were baton-charged and arrested for 'attending an illegal gathering' by hospital security guards and riot police, after holding a protest meeting in the hospital grounds. As they were herded into police vans, they defiantly sang freedom songs and chanted slogans. The student nurses were demanding a repeal of the 8pm curfew they were subjected to, recognition of organisations such as the Hospital Workers Association, and for a student representative council elected by the nurses. The auxiliary workers, many of whom with 10-20 years service, are still only employed on a temporary basis with a basic monthly wage of between £37 and £45.

With the threat of solidarity action from other black hospital workers and the determination of the strikers to hold out, the Supreme Court Judge clearly made a political decision: that the sackings were invalid. On 25 November all the sacked workers were reinstated.

The battles with scabs at the British subsidiary of British Tyre & Rubber,

the Eastern Cape many are on the brink of bankruptcy. On 1 December a rally of 50,000 people decided to suspend the boycott for a short while in order to give the regime time to meet its demands. Already the boycott has succeeded in removing the troops from Port Elizabeth, and secured the release of 19 community leaders including Mkhulisi Jack. New consumer boycotts are springing up. In the period leading up to Christmas five townships around Pretoria have started a boycott of all white shops in Pretoria.

### MK strikes

The armed struggle within South Africa intensifies and the number of hand grenade attacks on police stations, vehicles and homes has shot up. Concentrated mainly in the Western Cape, they have now spread to Soweto. On 4 December a grenade was thrown at an army vehicle in Soweto shortly before the visit of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to the township. Two days later another grenade lobbed at a passing police patrol injured three policemen, one badly.

There have been an increasing number of incidents where police have been fired at by shotguns. On 29 November over 1,000 armed police and soldiers descended on the Crossroads Squatter Camp outside Cape Town. A gun battle followed, and they were fired on by semi-automatic guns. Police claimed that only one man was killed.

The People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), has intensified the armed struggle. On 28 November rocket attacks were launched on the oil-from-coal plants at Sekunda, 75 miles east of Johannesburg, although unfortunately

# City AA militant sent to gaol

**'7.50pm The picket's still on. (We) could hear it in here ...'** This was Thursday 5 December, Nikki Renston was in Holloway women's prison; City AA was picketing outside. The picket sparked off conversation around the wing and Nikki found common ground with many of the women prisoners—lifers, petty offenders, on remand...as they talked of their feelings about what had brought them there and their experiences in British courts and prisons.

Nikki was in prison for refusing to pay a fine imposed for lying down in front of the South African Embassy on 11 October. Ten others have now also been convicted of obstruction for the same protest. No others have had an alternative prison sentence imposed as yet, but will face imprisonment should they refuse to pay the fines.

### 2 November demonstration

Trials of those arrested on 2 November began on 9 December and continue to mid-February.

**27 December 10am Camberwell Magistrates Court.** Mervyn Jones is on trial for threatening behaviour. Mervyn was arrested while trying to retrieve the City AA banner snatched by the police. He still needs more witnesses. If you were a witness, contact Nikki at City AA on 01 837 6050.

**13 January Highbury Magistrates Court** Nikki Renston, charged with assault on police. Bail conditions imposed: residence at home address, surety of £250, not allowed to go to Trafalgar Square. Four others have similar conditions.

For details of the fortnightly meetings of defendants from 2 November arrests

and other information please contact: PENNY WEAVER or LIZ HOLLIS at AAM, 13 Mandela Street, NW1 Telephone 01 387 7966.

### October 19 Surround the Embassy Protest

23 January Bow Street Magistrates Court: trial of five women—Ruby, Susanna, Lucy, Maria, Anne, on obstruction charges.

Bow Street Magistrates Court—undaunted by the dropping of all charges against the five arrested and assaulted by police on an earlier picket of the court, the Bow Street police tried to silence another picket there on Tuesday 10 December. Having moved the picket across the road the police then demanded they remain silent! They refused—but later the same police tried to deny them access to the court—this included the accused—Kenny Mosely—one of his witnesses. Once in court the picketers found themselves surrounded by four uniformed police and seven men with identical short haircuts, moustaches, and stiff suits—not Johnson Matthey Bankers! Kenny's case was adjourned.

# Actions speak louder than words

On Thursday 5 December 30 members of the GLC Workers Anti-Apartheid Group and Partizans (people against Rio Tinto Zinc) presented 1,100 signatures of GLC workers to the GLC's Finance and General Purposes Committee. The petition demanded the immediate withdrawal of the GLC Pension Fund's £257 million investments in companies operating in South Africa. Incredibly, after four years in office, this so-called radical socialist council, which has declared London an 'anti-apartheid zone', financed anti-apartheid organisations, and unveiled statues of Nelson Mandela, has done nothing about its own investments of £¼ billion in apartheid!

The reaction of the Committee's chairman was to assure us that disinvestment 'remained a high priority' for the Council. So Partizans asked why nothing had been done about the GLC's £4 million invested in RTZ, which they promised to withdraw in April this year. Ken Livingstone's response was to say we obviously didn't understand the nature of the state, which consistently prevents socialists from taking action.

In reality it is only the GLC's cowardly failure to deal with opposition from a handful of its own employees—the administrators of the Pension Fund—which has prevented action. Ken Livingstone's response is to use this opposition as an excuse for his own opportunism.

The GLC's latest decision on dis-

investment, after numerous reports, to 'explore the possibility' of disinvesting from 8 of the 74 offending companies. The implication is clear—they will 'explore' for another four months until the abolition of the GLC destroys any possibility of disinvestment. Only militant campaign to pressurise them will produce any action now.

Words, however, are cheap and, as a contribution to the struggle, the GLC organised a conference on 10 December on the theme of—guess what?—Local Authorities, Disinvestment, and Apartheid', which is 'intended to stimulate Local Authority action'. Perhaps they gave themselves a good kick up the...

### Dave Elder

they missed their target. The planting of land mines in the Northern Transvaal near the Zimbabwean border, resulting in the deaths of patrolling soldiers, has further riled the racists. In retaliation Zimbabwe has been threatened with raids by the SADF in pursuit of Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants. On 8 December a limpet mine exploded outside a post office in Durban wounding 8 people, including 2 white policemen.

### Victory to the South African people!

On all fronts the oppressed black people of South Africa fight back, and their struggle for freedom grows in strength with every day. South Africa is in ferment—and the apartheid regime sinks ever deeper into crisis. The repayment of foreign debts due at the end of this year will have to be postponed once again. Desperate to gain control of the black

townships, nearly 6,000 police have been redeployed from border duties to the townships and, as from next April the Railway Police will merge into the police force, making an extra 9,000 men available to terrorise the townships.

With the threat of an ever-growing militant, organised and political black working class, the apartheid regime has announced yet another of its so-called 'reforms'—that all black South Africans will now be able to buy freehold property in the black townships without having to qualify as residents. This measure is clearly designed to consolidate the material base of a black middle class, a layer P W Botha has long been promoting. But to the oppressed masses—of no property—such 'reforms' have no meaning and they have made it clear that all sell-outs and collaborators will be dealt with.

### Ruby Khan



## BUREAUCRACY VERSUS DEMOCRACY

The AAM leadership is moving to tighten its bureaucratic control over the movement. At the AGM a motion to restrict voting rights at future AGMs to those who have been in membership for more than three months was carried. A motion to initiate a debate on the Interim Report of the Development Sub-Committee was also carried.

This report recommends: the restriction of local group membership to those who live and work in the area (designed retrospectively to justify the expulsion of City AA); the removal of voting rights for individual members; the introduction of 'weighted' voting rights so that 'big' trade unions would have more votes than 'small' local groups and affiliated organisations. These proposals will take power away from activists and hand it over to block vote wielding bureaucrats. They will remove all significant rights from individual members and allow the 'big' organisations (however inactive) to outvote grassroots members (however active). The report must be opposed by all those who want an AAM controlled by its members.

The AAM leadership has refused to support his campaign because he was in the RCG. 'Their hatred of the RCG is greater than their hatred of racist immigration laws.' The motion was passed, strengthening the possibility of engaging the active support of black people for the AAM.

Another major victory for our trend was the passing of our motion committing the AAM to oppose the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Yet again, the EC amended it hoping, by their amendment, to restrict opposition to the use of the PTA against Southern African liberation movements. When the PTA was extended in 1984 the leadership refused to oppose the Act but merely sought 'assurances' from the government that it would not be used against Southern African liberation movements. We argued then that such assurances were worthless and that the Act itself must be opposed. We were right, as David Reed pointed out when moving the motion. He argued that as the struggle intensifies in Southern Africa, so will attacks on the liberation movements. Terrorism, according to the British government, is violence for political ends. The only defence is united opposition to the PTA and defence of all - Irish, Arab, Central American, Southern African - who are attacked by it. 'An injury to one is an injury to all' he reminded delegates, quoting the SACTU slogan. Anti-apartheid activists can now mount an effective defence of the Southern African liberation movements against the PTA.

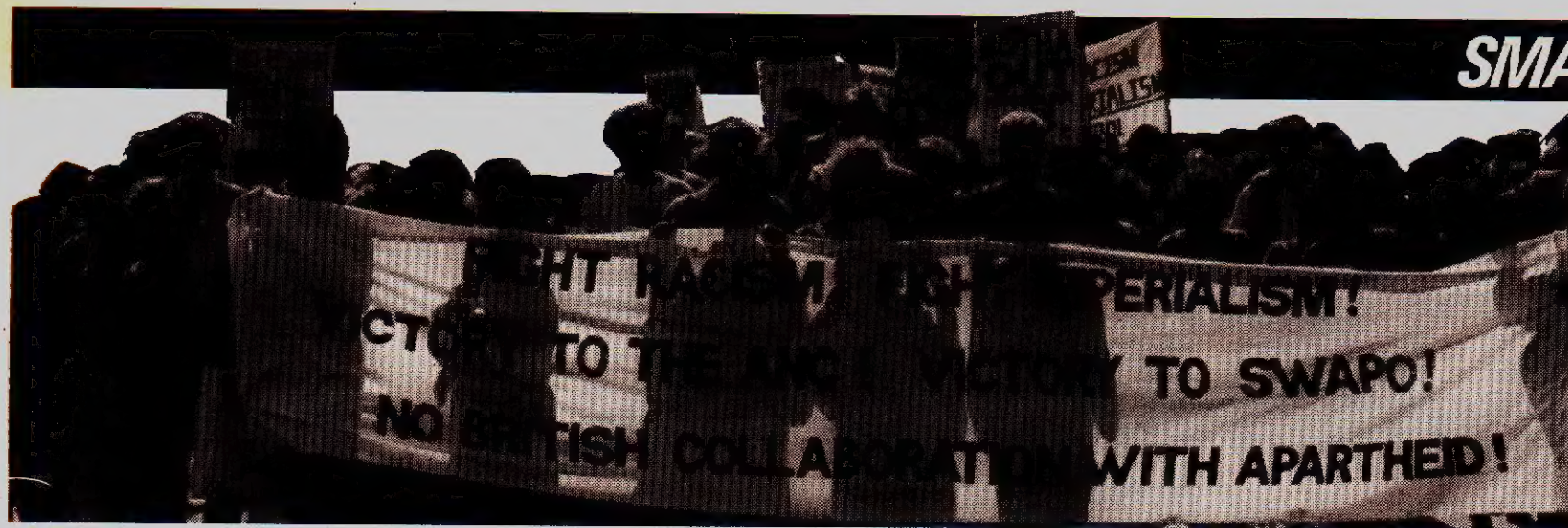
## NATIONAL COMMITTEE - NO CHANGE

Of the 30 elected members of the National Committee only three were not members of the previous NC. Even this change only happened because three previous NC members stood down.

Despite representing a third of delegates voting at the AGM not one of our slate of candidates was elected.

The AGM was dominated by this dispute on the way forward. Our trend won significant victories which will strengthen the drive to turn the AAM into a people's movement winning the active support of all forces opposed to apartheid and determined to destroy British collaboration with apartheid. The political success of our trend on the day was only possible because of the central role played by the RCG as an organised communist current giving voice to the active militant elements in the AAM. This is why so much abuse is poured on the RCG. The abuse and the thuggery both failed to silence us. The RCG will continue to fight for a democratic, mass anti-apartheid movement capable of meeting the challenge set by the courageous people of South Africa.

This page was compiled by  
Maggie Mellon and Terry  
O'Halloran.



South Africa burns but for the AAM leadership its...

# Business as usual

Nearly 1,000 people attended the Anti-Apartheid Movement's AGM on Sunday 1 December. This record attendance was a result of the momentous struggle in South Africa and of the political dispute in the AAM here.

Two trends confronted each other at the AGM. One wants to confine the policies and activities of the AAM to what is acceptable to their chosen constituency: the leadership of the Labour Party and trade union movement and the section of society they represent. This means concentrating on 'constitutional', 'respectable' activity; insisting that the AAM will not change despite the massive changes taking place in South Africa and in Britain. This trend in the AAM is represented by the present leadership. Their way forward lies in the election of a Labour government led by Neil Kinnock. They want to keep the membership and activities of the AAM within the limits acceptable to Kinnock and those he represents.

The other trend, represented by RCG and City AA, is fighting for change. It is fighting for a more open, effective and democratic movement. It argues that there are now new forces whose active support must be won if the AAM is to meet the challenge facing it and become a mass movement. Our trend knows that as the struggle in South Africa threatens to destroy British profiteering not only will the British state move to destroy any anti-apartheid movement in Britain, but also Kinnock & co will seek to impose a compromise which will pre-

serve British profiteering in South Africa.

Building a movement capable of dealing with this means winning black people in struggle here to the AAM; confronting British support for apartheid; defending the right to protest in face of police bans and harassment; cutting off all publicity for the regime and boycotting any debate with apartheid; encouraging rank and file action like that taken by the Dunnes workers; opposing the PTA, now extended to cover all liberation movements. These

were the political issues we raised at the AGM.

The AAM leadership, unable to defend their standpoint openly, resorted to political censorship, procedural manoeuvres and physical thuggery. They banned all leaflets and statements from the hall - except their own. Their stewards, many drawn from the obsessively anti-RCG 'Proletarian' group, acted as watchdogs for the EC's censorship and manoeuvring throughout the day. Both before and during the AGM supporters of RCG and City AA were violently attacked by these specially selected thugs. Those who cannot defend their political position inevitably resort to thuggery.

Despite the thuggery, procedural tricks and witch-hunting, four of the eleven motions supported by our trend were passed: against racist immigration laws; against the PTA; for the severance of diplomatic links; and supporting rank and file trade union action against apartheid. One calling on the AAM to follow the example of the Free South Africa Movement, including getting arrested if need be, was carried with an EC amendment to remove the reference to arrests. One supporting GLAIR's campaign to force Gay Mens Press and others to observe the cultural boycott was referred back to the National Committee.

Another re-affirming the 'no debate with apartheid' policy was dealt with by a successful EC procedural motion that there be no vote. Two were not taken for lack of time: on the Public Order Act and another calling for legal defence of anti-apartheid activists arrested. Only two - on reinstating City AA and closing the South African embassy were defeated in a vote. So much for an 'unrepresentative' and 'disruptive' minority as the EC labels us.

In the debate on the re-affiliation of City AA, Mike Terry for the EC declared that the only reason for disaffiliating City AA was its alleged, never proven, failure to act as a local group and that the ANC had asked them to disband City AA. Carol Brickley, City AA Convenor, defended City AA's contribution to the AAM; denounced the leadership vendetta and demanded real unity of all forces opposed to apartheid. The seconder, from North Staffs AA, compared the witch-hunt in the AAM to similar witch-hunts in the Labour Party and CND. A GMBATU delegate was wheeled on to declare that 'his' members supported the leadership. We are convinced that GMBATU members have no more been

## PAC SPEAKS

The AAM's constitution states that it will

'co-operate with and support Southern African organisations campaigning against apartheid.'

The PAC - the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - is just such an organisation. Yet its representative in Britain, Zolile Keke, did not receive an invitation to the AGM and had to ask for speaking rights. Zolile Keke did speak to the AGM and reminded delegates that the PAC too is part of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

consulted on this issue than they have been encouraged to take any significant action against apartheid. The re-affiliation was defeated by 671 to 276 votes. The 30% vote for City AA and for a democratic AAM was heartening. So was the support of the SWP, Leninist, Workers Power, local AA groups, trade union branches, students, and others.

The leadership's hostility to City AA and the RCG was further demonstrated in the debate on supporting the cam-

## HIRED THUGS

In what can only have been a conscious decision to incite confrontation, the AAM appointed stewards from the small, Morning Star supporting sect, Proletarian. These 'stewards' opened the day by biting one comrade's hand; launching a flying tackle into a group of City AA and RCG delegates' ranks; throwing two children out of the creche on the grounds that their mother was in the RCG and had three FRFs in her bag; and attempting to 'body search' one woman comrade by running hands up her skirts!

That the Proletarian represent precisely nothing in the AAM was evidenced by the fact that not one of their motions or amendments was accepted by the meeting.

Leadership manoeuvring reached new depths in the debate on no debate with apartheid. AAM Chair Bob Hughes is one of those who have breached this policy. In doing so he is supporting Kinnock's policy - of maintaining diplomatic links with apartheid - rather than AAM policy. In order to protect Hughes, Ethel de Keyser, for the EC, moved that the motion be not put. Waffling desperately, she said that whilst the leadership would not oppose the motion, there were strong 'supporters' of the AAM - Bob Hughes(?) - who wanted to debate with apartheid murderers. The message was clear: in words the AAM will oppose debates with apartheid; in practice it will tamely follow Kinnock and the imperialist governments in 'talking' to the fascist regime.

In the debate on opposing racist immigration controls, the EC put an amendment to replace 'immigration controls' with 'all racist laws'. This was accepted. Yet Winston Pinder and Suresh Kamath, both supporters of the Morning Star wing of the CPGB, used the debate to attack the proposers of the motion. They claimed we were trying to divert the AAM into an anti-racist movement and that black people did not want the AAM's help. Black people in the audience who wanted to point out that Pinder and Kamath did not speak for them were ignored by the chair. Pinder fatuously claimed that people did not know where Broadwater Farm is. The truth is Pinder and his Morning Star allies do not want anyone to know where Broadwater Farm is - nor do they want the youth on the Farm to know where the AAM is.

Viraj Mendis told how members of

## Building unity against Apartheid

150 people attended the pre-AGM Briefing Meeting convened by the RCG and City AA. The meeting was chaired by Rene Waller, a founding member of the AAM, and addressed by Carol Brickley, Convenor of City AA, and by David Reed for the RCG.

Carol Brickley, speaking of the undemocratic expulsion of City AA, and the attempts to destroy its work, said,

'... City Group has shown the way to build at grass-roots level against apartheid. But that presents the AAM leadership with problems. The infusion of new blood is a challenge to the political domination of the Labour Party and CPGB... They certainly do not want support from those who will directly challenge the British state whilst fighting apartheid... We have to stand against their notion of a movement which cuts out everyone to the left of Neil Kinnock.'

For the RCG, David Reed rejected charges that we are a disruptive and divisive force in the AAM.

'Those who talk of unity whilst attacking City AA and others' right to be in the movement, who subordinate the struggle against apartheid to the electoral fortunes of the Labour Party, are only interested in the unity of scabs: such 'unity' scabbed on the miners' strike, condemned black youth fighting for their rights and attacked Liverpool workers fighting for their jobs and services.'

David Reed also dealt with the one serious attack on our trend - that we

don't support the liberation movements. He emphasised that the RCG supports SWAPO and the ANC unconditionally. We place no conditions on our support for the liberation movements in their struggle against apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. If SWAPO and the ANC wish to build up good relations with a future Labour government that is their right whether we agree with this decision or not. But they do not have a right to demand that we drop our struggle against racism and opportunism in Britain in order to comply with that decision. Our struggle here against opportunism and all forms of collaboration with apartheid is a necessity if unity is to be forged between the working class here and the working class and oppressed masses fighting in South Africa. This means that we support the ANC's call for sanctions but we cannot support their call for the disbanding of City AA.

The meeting went on to discuss and plan our intervention for the next day: speakers for the motions and stewards were agreed, the National Committee elections and other motions and points of debate discussed. It was as a result of our political preparation that 26 different speakers were able to take to the floor on the day to defend and explain our standpoint.



## POLICE THUGGERY EXPOSED

On Friday 6 December a High Court jury ordered the Met police to pay a total of £1,750 compensation and exemplary damages to a black Rasta, Patrick Wilson, and £2,000 to his girlfriend, Susan Farbridge, both of Peckham in South London.

The case arose when Patrick, who is disabled, had driven Susan to her job in a minicab office. He was stopped by police officers and racially abused. He drove back to the minicab office to get witnesses. Despite Susan's protests that Patrick, who suffers from sickle cell anaemia, could not walk, the couple were arrested and taken to Tower Bridge police station. There they were subjected to humiliating strip searches. Patrick was charged with careless driving and assaulting the police, and Susan was charged with obstructing the police - both are imprisonable offences.

To justify their action, PCs Roderick Patterson and Neil Rossiter claimed in court that they suspected Susan and Patrick of being in possession of drugs, and claimed that Patrick had driven out in front of a police car! The jury rejected the concocted police version of events.

After his victory, Patrick said that he is often stopped by the police simply for 'being black and a Rastaman', adding 'I didn't want the police to get away with this.'

Unfortunately, all too often the police, backed up by racist courts, do get away with racist thuggery, and unless more victims are, like Patrick Wilson and Susan Farbridge, prepared to make a stand, they will continue to get away with it.

FRFI sends greetings to Patrick Wilson and Susan Farbridge. We salute their courageous stand against police harassment.

**RACIST POLICE OFF OUR STREETS!  
HANDS OFF BLACK PEOPLE!**  
Charine James

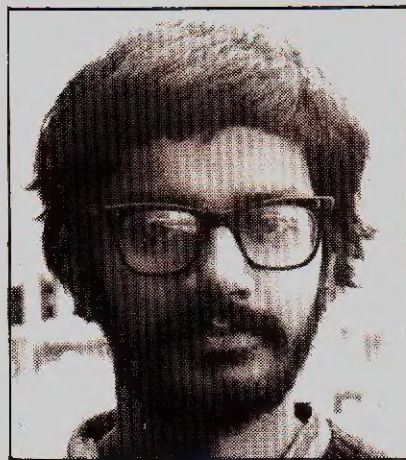
# Police attack fails to deter picket for Viraj Mendis

Viraj was questioned and cross-examined for five hours. His first witness was Upali Cooray, a Sinhalese barrister who monitors human rights abuses in Sri Lanka. He told the court that the government there keeps a close watch on opposition activists abroad, and that known opponents of the regime were arrested on arrival in that country. Upali himself was arrested on his last visit, and shown photographs of himself which could only have been taken in Britain. Under Sri Lankan PTA laws, opponents of the regime can be held for 18 months in detention without trial and without anyone being informed of their whereabouts. Upali said that many detainees had died in custody.

He related many cases of persecution showing that in Sri Lanka 'subversion' is defined very widely. In one case, a man was detained for being in possession of an article advocating a peaceful solution to the Tamil question and a 'revolutionary' magazine - the 'New Statesman'! Upali was in no doubt that Viraj Mendis, being a communist and an open supporter of the Tamil cause, would face worse persecution than the cases he had related.

Outside the picket received much support. But as we regrouped for the afternoon session, the police presence

The appeal against Viraj Mendis' deportation, which began on 2 December, has been adjourned to Tuesday 28 January 1986, at Thanet House, 231 The Strand, London WC1 at 10am. Viraj was supported by a 150-strong picket including FRFI, City AA, Greenham Women, GLC Workers Against Apartheid and individuals from Manchester, some under threat of deportation themselves.



dramatically increased. Trying to silence the picket, they moved it to a traffic island 100 yards away. Bob Derbyshire from FRFI was singled out for arrest as were the Chief Steward, followed by two VMDC supporters. Later, Andy Higginbottom, also from FRFI was hauled off the traffic island

and taken before a judge in the High Court for using a megaphone. Later, three passers-by were arrested when they stopped to read the campaign's leaflet. One was strip-searched in the police station. Continual racist and sexist jibes and other intimidation followed. Trying to obstruct the picket, the police stood close to picketers, obscuring banners and placards.

After the hearing, a picket was organised outside Bow Street police station and secured the release of all six without charge.

A long and hard campaign has been fought on Viraj's behalf. It is vital that there is an even stronger show of strength behind Viraj on 28 January. As Viraj said:

'Knowing that there was a strong picket gave me the confidence not to be intimidated by the cross-examination of the Home Office.'

Patrick, Karen, Dave and Brian

## Tesco's racism

Dundee AA group's pickets of the Tesco store in town are upsetting the racist manager - so three AA members have been arrested and charged!

Early in December a young AA supporter, caught by the manager sticking 'contaminated with apartheid' labels on Tesco's South African goods, was asked by him 'You don't like niggers do you?' Police agreed with him that this was an offence and charged the youth with Breach of the Peace.

On the next regular Friday picket of the store on Friday 13 December the police arrested two other AA members - because the same racist manager had complained that his sales were being affected. The two were held for two hours and charged with 'obstruction'.

Breaching racists' peace, obstructing profits - fighting apartheid - is clearly a crime in Britain!

## Manchester anti-racist campaigns news

Nigat Butt, Sudarshna Singla and Arfana Amin have all organised demonstrations of support to coincide with the arrival at Manchester airport of their fiancés. In each case the Home Office had denied entry under the primary purpose rule, yet in each case the demonstrations forced the authorities to allow the men to attend their own appeal hearings. Tariq Mehmood, fiancé of Nigat Butt, has now won the right to stay.

Anna Naghizadeh, whose husband Mansour was deported to Iran over 3 years ago, has fought all that time for his right to return to live together with her and their family. On 17 February at Aldine House, New Bailey St at 10am the appeal against the deportation order will be heard - the widest support is needed on that day.

The Manda Kunda Defence Campaign organised a 60 strong lobby of Downing St and picket of the Home Office on 14 November, yet Manda is still awaiting a decision from the Home Office on her application to stay in Britain together with her 3 children.

## Racist attacks in Manchester

All over the country there is an increase in brutal racist attacks. Manchester is no exception.

On 29 October a 60-year-old Pakistani woman was attacked by 5 racist youths who caused injuries to her all over her body, including knife cuts across her fingers. They then robbed her pension money and her shopping. The police have done nothing, despite the woman identifying the youth to them.

In November Guland Afghan Nagina's shop in Longsight was attacked twice when petrol was poured through the door and ignited. Fortunately no-one was injured and no serious damage caused. The police again say they 'have no idea as to the motive'. Local people have no doubt that racists are responsible.

Chris Fraser

continued from page 1

## SIEGE GOES ON

### Arrests and the courts

Those arrested are often denied solicitors, or their solicitors are banned by the police from speaking to their clients. They are interrogated for days on end, deprived of sleep, clothing and food. They are racially and sexually insulted and abused. The aim of this torture is to make people 'confess' or 'give evidence' against others. All those arrested are questioned about the death of PC Blakelock, however minor the charge, and threatened with the prospect of life imprisonment.

In court some defendants are tied to solicitors appointed by the police, refused bail or, when it is granted, it is conditional on restrictions to keep out of certain districts, obey curfew hours and report regularly to the police station. Of the 150 or so people arrested a large percentage are released without charge, even after 50 hours of detention. Defendants are appearing in court without shoes or other items of clothing. Anyone with even the slightest police record is described as a 'known criminal'.

Those who have spoken out have been slandered. Dolly Kiffin has been labelled the 'Godmother' of Broadwater and the Mail on Sunday has slanderously accused her of corruption. Illegally, the Daily Telegraph published the name and charge of a juvenile. This media campaign combines with constant police patrols, armed arrests and the presence of the D11 Gun Unit to humiliate and abuse the community and to misrepresent and criminalise it.

### Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign

The Defence Campaign picketed a full Haringey Council meeting on 16 December to call for a reduction of the police presence to the level before 6 October. The council is now threatening to sue the police for trespass if they do not do so. The police, in their turn, have asked the council to break down the walkways in between the housing and stated that they intend to establish a mini-police station on the estate. This is a demand

that the police have made, and the residents have rejected since the Broadwater Farm Youth Association was first formed. A local demonstration is planned to take place in mid January to back up these demands.

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! has been in the Defence Campaign from the start. We have been active in distributing leaflets around the estate because we urge the need for the whole community to get involved in organising its own defence. There are many local people who have been terrorised into silence by police tactics. There are those who believe that by not speaking out about what is happening to them, by not playing an active role in the Defence Campaign, they will not suffer at the hands of the police. Reality has shown that this is not the case. The police are not concerned with detective work, but only to spread terror among the community. Arrests and charges are random, except that if you are young and black there is more chance of being picked up (80% of those charged so far are black and a high proportion juveniles).

The terror tactics must not succeed. Oppression at this level of state organisation can only be overcome by a community organising for its own defence. Police harassment of the black community will not go away if it is not exposed. Indeed, every time that they silence a community they have strengthened their grip on the oppressed. Every time the community fights back there is hope for peace in the future. This is the lesson that we can learn from the glorious struggle of the people of South Africa. This is the message that we get from the people of nationalist Derry in the North of Ireland who wrote on the walls of their estates, 'The great only appear great because we are on our knees.'

Susan Davidson and Ken Hughes

Some of the information for this article has been taken from a leaflet by the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee which FRFI comrades helped to produce.



# Winston Silcott is innocent

On 12 October, Winston Silcott was arrested and charged with murdering PC Blakelock on 6 October during the Tottenham rising. Winston has since been held in Brixton Prison and the only regular visitor he is allowed is his mother. His family and friends have set up the Winston Silcott Defence Campaign (WSDC) and have picketed Clerkenwell Magistrates Court on each remand hearing and worked hard to publicise this clear case of a police frame up. FRFI has supported these pickets and participated in the campaign. Delroy Lindo on behalf of the WSDC spoke to FRFI about its aims.

'We formed the campaign because we felt that not enough was being done to highlight Winston's case. Since the risings his name has been linked with PC Blakelock's death throughout the country and even abroad. With no regard for his innocence, the police are using Winston to show how quickly they can solve the killing of PC Blakelock.' Winston was targeted by the police because 'on

many occasions in the past he has been outspoken and has complained to local councillors about his treatment by the police'.

The police have of course tried to undermine the campaign; 'they drive around and rip down our posters, in some cases writing racist remarks on them after tearing off important parts of the posters. They are also 'intimidat-

ing people into denying that Winston was not there on the Broadwater Estate that evening.'

The campaign nevertheless will continue. It hopes 'to attend meetings all over the country, telling as many people as possible of Winston's innocence. We intend to picket Brixton Prison where he is held as a category A prisoner. As an innocent man he should not be there'.

Winston Silcott appears on remand at Clerkenwell every week. But as Delroy told FRFI 'The day is always being changed in an attempt to dishearten supporters'. On the pickets 'we have been intimidated by some police trying to spark off trouble so that they can come down on us heavy-handed. Due to the discipline of the picket we are able to resist their provocation. On one occasion the door of the public gallery was closed even to Winston's family'. Support for the WSDC is urgently needed. If you want to help and/or donate money please contact: Winston Silcott Defence Campaign, The Triangle Centre, 93 Saint Anne's Road, Tottenham, London N15.

Ken Hughes



# 'She didn't die at any time, She died then'

Dave Leadbetter, joint London chair of Inquest, attended the Jarrett Inquest on behalf of Inquest. Many thanks to Dave for providing the following article on the issues raised in the case.

Accidental death does not have the self-evidently dramatic ring to it of other inquest verdicts – such as, for instance, unlawful killing, or even that other finding which the government would so much like to abolish, lack of care. An accident, after all, is something for which no one is responsible (unless, of course, it be God – one of whose Acts it might be).

And yet the brave and dignified family of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett are right, a thousand times right, to claim that such a verdict represents a great and famous victory. Circumstances *do* alter cases. The jurors knew when they retired that they were only entitled to bring in accidental death on the basis that one of the officers searching her home had pushed, shoved or jostled aside Mrs Jarrett. This was something that the officer in question, Detective Constable Randall, and his colleagues had consistently denied. There was no room for mistake about this. Physical contact of the kind described was something that the police had said never happened, while the family maintained that it had. By returning accidental death the jury were officially certifying that they believed the family, disbelieved the police, and that Mrs Jarrett's death was, in common parlance, No Accident.

This is why so much of the media, which devoted so many acres of newspaper and hours of TV time to the Broadwater Farm events, has given such scanty and mealy-mouthed attention to the incident which sparked them off. True believers all in the fragility of Blair Peach's skull would have had little difficulty in noticing that Mrs Jarrett had a heart condition that was likely to prove fatal (in Dr Somerville's graphic phrase a 'candidate for death') at any time. But they cannot argue away what the learned Coroner pointed out: 'She didn't die at any time; she died then.'

Why did the jury feel entitled to doubt the word of these fine, upstanding constables? Because, reader, said guardians of the law had lied with such transparent clumsiness throughout the proceedings. One lie they admitted. Sergeant Parsons let the search party into the Jarrett home with a key illicitly taken from the property of a prisoner and then proceeded to tell the family members present that he had found the door open. He did this, he says, in order to 'calm the situation' – though how he proposed to accomplish this object when the family, who were looking after small children, knew this to be false, would pass the comprehension of Mr Eldon Griffiths himself. In other lies they were caught out – by the objective evidence of the London Ambulance Service's 999 records. Of still other lies, both trivial and serious, the jury had every reason to suspect them.

Some of the last category of lies concerned the search warrant. The police were certainly equipped with one of those so useful pieces of paper – though whether before or after the search remains a very moot point. DC Bates of the Essex Constabulary, investigating the case on behalf of the Police Complaints Authority, was sent on two successive visits to the JP who issued it in an

effort to jog the magistrate's uncertain memory. (I for one would not care to come up before that particular beak; on present form he would doubtless forget the crime one was charged with long before the time came for sentence. It was at one stage proposed to call the gentleman's mother but her memory was, with perhaps greater excuse, equally uncertain.)

The inquest, though, raises other questions. It should, properly understood and acted upon, prove a turning point in the struggle for justice on behalf of those who have died in the custody – or at any rate the company – of our wonderful police force. It may be that you are reading this before breakfast. If so I will ask you kindly (and for the sake of argument only) to believe, not six, but just one impossible thing: that the police were speaking the pure unvarnished truth about the warrant. There is a space on both the warrant itself and the information which purports to justify it, for the insertion of a list of the goods for which 'Each and all the constables' of the Metropolitan Police are entitled to search. In the case of Mr Floyd Jarrett (who had been arrested, be it remembered, upon suspicion of stealing his own car) the list was brutally succinct: 'Diverse Goods' was all the description that filled the space.

What Messrs Randall, Parsons, Casey and Allan were engaged in was a 'fishing expedition' – something of which the law is thought to disapprove – and all the cover they gave themselves was that of a fishing licence. In plain words this 'warrant' was a General Warrant. We were taught in school that such abominations had gone out in the 18th century days of 'Wilkes and Liberty'. An Englishman's home was then held to be so much his castle that 'the wind may come in, the rain and snow may come in but not the King of England with all his army – unless he be invited.' We must now learn to redefine the concept of an Englishman's home so as to make it 'a place where Randall, Parsons et al can get in by using the key of a grown son who does not live there, in order to search for diverse goods'. Either that or we must re-define the role of Messrs Randall, Parsons & Co.

Nor is this all. Mrs Jarrett's inquest raises other fundamental questions, of which space only suffices to give the barest outline. The case reveals an incipient conflict between, on the one hand, the 800 year old institution of the Coroner's jury and, on the other, the elaborate, secret world of the very new-fangled Police Complaints Authority. What happened was that the Coroner's Officers were forbidden to make their usual enquiries and specifically to take statements from intending witnesses. (It is, of course, unfortunately true that these officers are members, not of the general public as Inquest and others have long argued for, but of the self same Force which was under investigation. This does not excuse the high handed way in which their functions were usurped.) Space does not permit exhaustive analysis of the deficiencies and the dilatoriness of the

PCA investigation, for we have to come to the even more important question of privilege. What happened was that Patricia Jarrett as well as the JP, the police and other witnesses, made statements to the PCA on the basis of a promise that these were, and would remain, confidential. Only the Coroner was to be permitted to see certain of these items – and to his ever lasting credit Dr Paul chose not to look at all of those supplied to him. No one else was to have them. Yet on the first day of the inquest, Mr Austin-Smith, counsel for the Met, had Patricia's confidential statement in his hand, ready to embark on what proved to be a wholly unsuccessful attempt to discredit her evidence. Such manifest unfairness was not to be borne. By the end of the inquest it had become morally impossible for the police statements to be hidden and the coppers concerned were obliged to 'waive their privilege'.

So, it's over to you, Home Secretary.



You will have to do something to restore the credit of your shiny, new cosmetic Police Complaints Authority. Who will trust them now? Sir Michael might have yet about the prosecution of Randall & Co, (perhaps for perjury?) but you have a more direct responsibility. We are told that we need no local democratic control of London's police because you are the capital's Police Authority. They, so the theory goes, are accountable to you, you to Parliament and Parliament (very occasionally) to the rest of us. So Mr Hurd, you should take time off this Christmas – from your arduous labours in trying to impose on the people of this country the most repressive public order laws in modern history (while professing such concern about those social conditions and other causes of popular disturbance as lie outside your department's jurisdiction) – and give a Christmas present to every black person in this country and to every libertarian, by doing what it was your duty to do on Sunday 6 October: suspending Randall, Parsons and their merry men from the police force until they can be brought to trial. Anything less is an obscenity.

Dave Leadbetter

# PEOPLE AND POLITICS

## Racism out of education

In FRFI 54 we reported on the struggle at East London's Daneford School being led by the Campaign Against Racism in Schools (CARS). On 22 November, the trial began of 12 people arrested on 16 October during a picket of the Inner London Education Authority's (ILEA) Tower Hamlets offices. The opening of the trial was marked by a mass demonstration and picket of Highbury Magistrates court, and teachers in 60 London schools struck in solidarity. Organised by the Inner London Teachers Association (NUT), the day of action, significantly, did not receive the support of the NUT Executive. It was however supported by numerous Bangladeshi, anti-racist, teachers' and other organisations including the RCG which was among the speakers at the mass rally. 2 defendants have so far been acquitted.

Some days after the trial began, Norma Hundleby, the NUT representative for Daneford and co-Chair of the Campaign Against Racism in Schools spoke to FRFI.

Norma explained why the Campaign has targetted the ILEA with a number of pickets and protests. 'We want to expose the hypocrisy of the ILEA and its paper anti-racist policy,' Frances

from educational policy, CARS is determined to build links with the community. 'We still have a long way to go as the only way we can reach the black community is to do grass-roots work. We are going round visiting parents and listening to what they have to say about their children's schools.' Building links with the community 'is the most important part of our work.'

Morrell, the Labour leader of the ILEA, 'has built her shabby career' on this 'paper anti-racism'. 'Thousands and thousands of pounds are spent to get very glossy propaganda into teachers' pigeon-holes talking about multi-cultural education. But the ILEA has never addressed itself to anti-racism. By this we mean that there has never been any proper consultation on anti-racist policy with the black community in London, which has been excluded from all policy making decisions'. In addition there are 'no firm discipline codes for dealing with racist students, teachers and governors. Black teachers when appointed are given very weak contracts and treated like shit... Often the appointment of black teachers is pure tokenism. If they can say there is one black teacher in a school, they think they are anti-racist.' The ILEA 'is also notorious for working with the police, Barclays Bank and cheap, slave labour schemes.' It 'encourages the police to go into schools and has never taken a "police out of schools" position which it should.'

In contrast to the ILEA's racist exclusion of the black community and parents

Daneford School pupils, staff and supporters picket Highbury Magistrates Court.

CARS does not isolate the struggle against racism in schools from the wider struggle against racism in the community. Norma told us 'We recognise that a lot of these families are living in a state of siege, under threat of arson and other racist attacks'. She added 'As anti-racist teachers we have to be prepared to take on the law and not be intimidated by the police. What happened to us is happening to black people all the time'. As an anti-racist movement CARS recognises the connections with the struggle in South Africa: 'We see a very direct link. The people that are in the forefront fighting racism in South Africa are students. People that are fighting in Brixton and Broadwater Farm are youth who are unemployed and have had a shit education. It is the same struggle.'

In concluding the interview Norma thanked FRFI for the support it has given the struggle and appealed for all readers to join the campaign and send donations. Donations can be sent to: Daneford 12 Defence Fund, 59 Bow Road, London E3.



# The Police and Criminal Evidence Act

# A peoples' guide

PAUL MATTISON



In the past our basic advice to those arrested has been:

- 1) Give the police your name and address, but *no other information*.
- 2) Do not answer any other questions or chat to the police.
- 3) Ask to see a solicitor and ask for someone to be informed of your arrest. Keep asking for these until you get them.

*This advice still applies*, but the Act gives quite complex additional powers and duties to the police which could influence the outcome of a court case or add to the amount of time you spend in custody. Knowing your rights and the duties of the police will ensure that if they deny your legal rights you might be able to take action against them. We advise you to keep this page and to learn your rights under the Act.

You are under no legal obligation to give the police your date of birth. On the other hand, if they choose to make this an issue of identification, then they could hold you for a longer period. You will then have to decide whether to continue to withhold it.

The Act makes a distinction between an *arrestable offence* and a *serious arrestable offence*. If you are arrested on suspicion of a *serious arrestable offence* then this gives the police considerable extra powers. A *serious arrestable offence* is either a serious crime like murder or armed robbery or any crime or attempted crime likely to have serious consequences. So, robbing an old age pensioner of £5 could be categorised as a *serious arrestable offence* because the consequences for the pensioner would be serious. For political activists it is important to note the following:

- 1) Obstructing 'members of the police or armed forces near to a prohibited place' is now an *arrestable offence*. This is important for peace activists.
- 2) Offences under the Public Order Act are not arrestable offences (but see the article below). However the police are likely to arrest you for some other arrestable offence (eg obstruction) and then charge you under the Public Order Act.
- 3) Breach of the peace is an *arrestable offence*. The category *serious arrestable offence* includes 'serious harm to public order'.

## STOP AND SEARCH

● The police have powers to stop and search, without arrest, any person or vehicle in any public place at any time if they have 'reasonable' suspicion that they will find either stolen goods, prohibited goods (eg drugs) or an offensive weapon. The word 'reasonable' is used a lot in the Act and means that the police have to convince the court

that it is 'reasonable'. It might not therefore appear to be at all 'reasonable' to you or me, but what counts is the magistrate's or judge's view.

● The police cannot stop you just because of your colour, style of dress or hair style, and 'young blacks should not be stopped and searched on the basis that statistics show that they have a higher than average chance of being involved in arrests for certain types of offences'. In practice the police will certainly use these powers to harass working class people, black, unemployed, homeless, gays etc. Therefore, *know your rights*.

● The police officer must identify her/himself before a search.

S/he must give you her/his name and police station

State the object of the proposed search

Give the grounds for carrying out the search.

If they are in plain clothes they must give documentary evidence that they are police officers.

*Insist on all this information being given to you and try to remember it.*

Only uniformed officers can stop a vehicle, although plain clothes police can be present and question occupants of the vehicle.

● The police officer must keep a search record. You are entitled to a copy of this record, but it need not necessarily be written on the spot. Demand a copy of the search record at the end of the search. The police are not obliged to give you a copy immediately but they *do* have to supply either you or your solicitor with a copy at some point. Follow up your demand in writing to the police station concerned. Failure to keep a search record does not make the search unlawful if no arrest is made, but the police officer could be liable to disciplinary action. In all circumstances, therefore, it is worth demanding a copy of the record.

● Any search must be carried out by a police officer who is the same sex as you.

● You do not need to give your name and address, and the police have no powers to detain you in order to obtain your name. However if you refuse to give your name and address they are quite capable of inventing some other reason for arresting you. So you will have to judge how to act depending on the circumstances.

● The police have no powers to carry out an intimate search without an arrest.

● The police cannot require you to remove any clothing in public except 'an outer jacket, jacket or gloves'.

● They can ask you to remove more clothing than this – or even carry out a strip-search – but they have to take you to a 'private place' – not necessarily a police station. 'Private place' is ill-defined in the Act and it will be up to the courts to decide if police officers have acted 'reasonably'. Their action has to relate to the reasons for the search and what they are searching for. It would not be 'reasonable' therefore to ask you to, for example, remove your shoes and socks if they were looking for a hammer. It is very important, if you can, that you insist at the beginning on knowing what they are looking for.

● The police can use 'reasonable' force to effect a search.

● If you believe that you have been stopped and searched unreasonably or unlawfully then go to see a solicitor, law centre or citizens advice bureau.

## ENTRY AND SEARCH OF PREMISES

The Act gives the police substantial powers to enter and search your property. In general the police will need a

warrant from a magistrate to do so. In practice this is no obstacle to them. The warrant should identify what the police are searching for, but in practice, the description of what they are looking for will probably be very general. In the case of the Jarrett family, for instance, the search warrant stated 'diverse goods'. This section of the Act has serious consequences when you think that in the last few months three people – John Shorthouse, Mrs Groce and Mrs Jarrett – have been killed or seriously injured as a result of police entering their homes.

● In theory the police must identify themselves – and if in plain clothes they must produce documentary evidence. They must give you a copy of the warrant. Demand all of these things before you let them in and take a note of the police officers' names and numbers if you can. The police do not have to do this if:

- a) the premises are unoccupied.
- b) you are known to be absent.
- c) alerting you to the search would frustrate the object of the search or endanger the police.

In other words the police can do what they like. Demand your rights anyway as the police will later have to justify their actions.

● Reasonable force can be used to enter and effect the search.

● Police can enter without a warrant in order to make an arrest, to prevent a breach of the peace or to search for evidence after an arrest.

● You are entitled to ask a friend or other person to witness the search unless the officer in charge believes that this will 'hinder the search'. This is a bit of a red herring since the police do not have to inform you of this right or delay the search until your witness arrives. Demand the right anyway. If you are alone you will have to weigh up the possible consequences if you will need to leave the police unattended while you get hold of your witness.

● Demand a receipt for any items seized by the police. Ask for a copy of the search record and follow this up later at the police station.

● If you are a lodger or have a bedsit, the consent of the landlord is not sufficient for a search. Of course all the above powers apply anyway, but the police are not entitled to say that they have consent for the search unless they have your *consent*.

## ARREST

● The police can arrest you for a non-arrestable offence (eg a minor traffic offence) if they believe that your name and address is not verifiable.

● The police have to inform you that you *are arrested* otherwise they are acting unlawfully if they detain you. The grounds for the arrest have to be given, although these need not relate to what you are eventually charged with.

● If you are to be detained for a period longer than 6 hours you must be taken to a designated police station. A designated police station is one with cells and accommodation for holding suspects in custody.

● As soon as you are arrested, make a note or remember the number of the police officer who is arresting you. It should be on his/her shoulder.

## DETENTION BY THE POLICE

At each police station there will be an officer who will act as a *Custody Officer*. He will be responsible for ensuring that the Police Act is applied to your custody following your arrival at the police station. In general he will not be involved in the investigation and will have no other duties. He will be responsible for keeping a *Custody Record* which

is a record of everything that happens to you in the police station.

● The *Custody Record* must include a list of all your property which you have with you when you enter the police station, whether or not this is taken away from you.

● The police can detain you for 24 hours without charge. However, they do need specific grounds for doing this – see below.

● As soon as is practicable (this is vague) after you are brought to the police station the *Custody Officer* must decide if there is sufficient evidence to bring a charge against you. If there is insufficient evidence then they must release you unconditionally or on police bail, unless:

- a) they need to secure or preserve evidence
- b) they need to obtain evidence by questioning.

Continued detention without charge cannot be justified on the grounds that it is 'in the interests of the suspect' or that you might repeat or continue the offence.

● The police have no powers to arrest you for questioning.

● Some lawyers argue that 'If the custody officer has reasonable grounds to believe that a person will not answer questions (because that person or someone on his or her behalf has said so), then it is argued that the officer cannot believe that detention is necessary for questioning and detention for questioning in such circumstances would be unlawful'. (Hargreaves and Levenson, *A Practitioners Guide to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984*). Therefore, to rule out questioning being used as the grounds for your detention, make it clear from the beginning that you do not intend to answer questions.

● You can be detained for longer than 24 hours, up to 36 hours if

- a) you are suspected of a *serious arrestable offence*
- b) and an officer of at least the rank of Superintendent authorises it
- c) and he believes that the investigation is being conducted 'diligently and expeditiously'
- d) and continued detention is necessary to secure or preserve evidence
- e) or continued detention is necessary to obtain evidence by questioning.

At the time of this decision you or your solicitor are entitled to make verbal or written representation.

● The police must inform you of the grounds for your continued detention and this must be written in the *Custody Record*.

● The length of time for detention begins when you arrive at the police station. *But* if you are arrested, for instance in Scotland and the police station handling the case is in London, then the detention time starts 24 hours after your original detention in Scotland.

● The police must release you after 36 hours if you are not charged or produce you, in person, in court. You are entitled to a solicitor at any court hearing.

● After 36 hours, if the police want to detain you further without charge, they have to take you before a magistrate. He can authorise your detention up to a maximum of 96 hours. Your detention during this extra time will be reviewed at 6 and 9 hour intervals.

## LEGAL ADVICE AND NOTIFICATION OF ARREST

At the time of authorising your detention the *Custody Officer* must advise you verbally and in writing that you are entitled to consult a solicitor privately. You will be asked to sign the *Custody Record* to say that you have been informed of this right. The general rule in police stations is do not sign anything *unless* you have read it and

On 1 January 1986, The Police and Criminal Evidence Act came into force. This Act substantially changed the powers of stop and search, erect road blocks, take finger prints and collect evidence. It was passed soon after the 1981 uprisings in Brixton. Extended police powers are there for the police and political activists. The Act brings in the draconian powers of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Its passage through Parliament was without opposition except on the issues of the right to documents in the hands of solicitors and the right not to be committed to repeal the Act. The Act will therefore be a feature of the future.

Any new powers given to the police which they operate. On many points which the police already operate. The introduction of this new law on 1 January 1986, once again, to go way beyond the powers of the Metropolitan Police 'run' of the Act, and even so they have Broadwater Farm, that the rights of the police are given scant regard. Nevertheless, the rights which are given under the Act, becoming unlawful action by the police. The line to your rights because the act of use will only become clear during



completely understand and agree with what you are signing. Do not let the police harass you to sign anything. In this case, refusal to sign *does not* mean that you have refused the right to see a solicitor. The police can only take away that right if you sign specifically to say that you do not want a solicitor. If you are in any doubt about what you are signing, do not sign. Continue to demand to see a solicitor.

● If someone else instructs a solicitor on your behalf the police have to inform you of this.

● A request to see a solicitor must be noted in the *Custody Record*. Keep on demanding to see one. If you do not know a solicitor then the police must show you a list of duty solicitors.

● The police may delay your right to see a solicitor for up to 36 hours if it is authorised by a police officer of the rank of at least Superintendent or if you are suspected of a *serious arrestable offence*, and have not yet been charged. The officer must have reasonable grounds for believing:

- a) that it will lead to interference or harm to evidence or interference or harm to other persons
- b) it will alert other suspected persons not yet arrested
- c) it will hinder the recovery of any property obtained as a result of the suspected offence.

● You are allowed to have a friend, relative or other person notified of your



**Criminal Evidence Act 1984 comes changes the powers of the police to** ks, detain suspects, strip search, ence. The Police Act was formul- in British cities and in reality the or use against workers, oppressed gs normal police powers closer to ntion of Terrorism Act (PTA). Dur- ent the Act met with very little elating to the seizure of privileged rs and doctors. The Labour Party is f they ever get elected to govern- cting our lives for a long time in the

Police are only the bottom line from ts, the Act only makes legal, prac- mploy on a daily basis. With the January, we can expect the police, air legal powers. Over the last six ave operated what they call a 'dry ve demonstrated, as in the case of the public and of detainees will be we have to fight for the few rights ause there is no other way of limit- This article serves only as a guide- ual methods which the police will 1986.



arrest and where you are held. The *Custody Officer* should inform you of this both verbally and in writing.

- Reasons for delay of this right up to 36 hours are the same as for delay in consulting a solicitor. You do not have this right if arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
- If the person you wish to be notified cannot be contacted then you can have two alternative choices. After that, it is at the discretion of the *Custody Officer*.
- If you are a juvenile (under 17) the police are obliged to contact your parents or another responsible adult and ask them to come to the police station to see you. This applies even under the PTA.
- If you are a foreign national you have the absolute right to contact your High Commission, Embassy or Consulate. This is additional to the rights above.

#### REVIEWS OF DETENTION

- If you are detained for more than 6 hours, a police officer of at least the rank of an Inspector must review your detention. This review must take place every nine hours thereafter. Note these times because the Inspector must give you or your solicitor a chance to make oral or written representation before the decision to continue the detention is made. Reviews may, however, be delay-



PAUL MATTHEWSON

## The Public Order Bill A legal straightjacket for the oppressed

On 5 December the Public Order Bill was published. The Bill represents a major threat to democratic rights to assemble and protest. It is aimed at criminalising any effective protest against the government and its policies. Alongside the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (see this page), the Bill will give the police unprecedented powers to harass, arrest and criminalise anyone seen as a threat by this government.

All marches must have seven days written notice which must be delivered by hand to the police station in each area the march passes through. The name and address of an organiser must be included in the notice. Any deviation from the time, date and assembly details – unless by police instruction – will be an arrestable criminal offence. The police will have power to alter any conditions – assembly, time, route, finishing point – at any stage including during the march itself. Organising (3 months/£1,000), participating in (£400) or inciting (3 months/£1,000) any breach of any of these conditions will be an arrestable criminal offence (maximum penalties in brackets), as will be organising (3 months/£1,000) participating in (£400) or inciting any person to participate in (3 months/£1,000) a banned march.

The police will have power to control the size, location and duration of static demonstrations – for instance pickets

outside the South African Embassy. Organising (3 months/£1,000), participating in (£400) or inciting (3 months/£1,000) any breach of any police conditions will be an arrestable criminal offence.

The offence of riot (life) will apply where 12 or more people use or threaten violence to property or people; violent disorder (5 years) where three or more people use or threaten violence to property or people; affray (3 years) where 2 or more people use or threaten violence to people. No violence need actually be used for violent disorder or affray. The Riot and violent disorder charges could be applied to 12 or more Greenham women cutting fences in concert.

The new offence of disorderly conduct (£400) is defined so widely as to act as a new 'sus' law. Any conduct likely – according to the police – to 'alarm, distress or harass' will be disorderly conduct. No one need in fact be alarmed for

this offence to be committed. It will be an arrestable criminal offence. Watching and besetting, aimed at trade union action against scabs, will be an arrestable offence.

Between the White Paper in June and the publication of the Bill in December, the government has increased the maximum penalty for riot from 10 years to life and broadened the scope of, and increased the maximum penalty for, disorderly conduct (from £100 to £400).

The failure to mount effective opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Police and Criminal Evidence Act has opened the way for this new Public Order Bill. They are all part of a set pattern of repression and the government is already promising a new Criminal Justice Bill for 1986/87. We have only a matter of months in which to organise against this new Bill. All sections of people who oppose the British state are threatened by its provisions. The time to act is now!

**Terry O'Halloran**

For more information on the Public Order Bill and how to fight it contact: CROWD 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1 0AP. Telephone: 833 2701 or 734 5831

They can use 'reasonable' force.

- If you are a juvenile or mentally handicapped, such searches can only take place in the presence of a parent or responsible adult.

#### FINGERPRINTS

- Police have the right to take fingerprints with or without your consent and to use 'reasonable' force. You must be given the reasons for fingerprinting and these must be recorded in the *Custody Record*. If you are arrested under the PTA you are not covered by any safeguards.

- Fingerprints or any body samples must be destroyed if you are not prosecuted. You have the right to be present to witness destruction and the police do not have the right to destroy them without informing you that you can be present. Under the PTA, the police have the right to retain fingerprints whether you are prosecuted or not.

#### PHOTOGRAPHS

With certain exceptions the police do not have the right to photograph you. With certain exceptions the police do not have the right to photograph you without your consent. For political the photo is necessary to establish who arrested you, or the time and place. The police, however, may not use force to photograph you. Our past experience is that the police often attempt to take polaroid photos as you enter a police station with the arresting officer. Be prepared for this and hide your face if you can. If they do manage to get a photo of you, ask for it to be destroyed and inform your solicitor.

#### WHEN YOU ARE RELEASED...

Ask for a copy of the *Custody Record*. You are entitled to a copy, and that entitlement continues for 12 months. Read it and give a copy to your solicitor. It is a vital document because it will record all the details of your custody. If any are omitted or inaccurate inform your solicitor. This could be vital to your court case or the possibility of taking action against the police if they have maltreated you.

#### IF YOU HAVE A FRIEND IN POLICE CUSTODY...

Organise to get them released. Phone the police station or better still go round to the police station, preferably with others. Ask to speak to the *Custody Officer*. Ask if a solicitor has been informed. Ask for the reasons for their detention. Ask for a visit. If you have reason to believe that the detainee has not been able to phone a solicitor, then phone one yourself and ask them to get in touch with the police station. Keep asking questions and do not be intimidated.

**Carol Brickley**

ed, but the reason for the delay must be recorded in the *Custody Record*.

- If the police decide to detain you beyond 6 hours they must inform you of the reasons and these must be recorded in the *Custody Record*.

#### OTHER RIGHTS

- You are entitled to writing materials – ask for them. The police are entitled to read any letters you write except to your solicitor. As well as writing letters to your loved-ones, write down everything that happens to you and all the requests you make to the police, with the time if you can. Later you can compare this with the police *Custody Record*.
- You should be cautioned that anything you say in a letter, phone call or message may be given in evidence. The police should not listen to a phone call to your solicitor.
- All visits are at the discretion of the *Custody Officer*.

#### DETENTION AFTER CHARGE

- The police can decide to detain you further after they have charged you if: a) your name or address is unknown or doubted.

- b) for the protection of yourself or others from injury, or for the protection of property.

- c) they do not believe that you will answer to bail or they believe you will interfere with the course of justice.

- The police must record the reasons for continuing to detain you and they must inform you of the reasons. You are not entitled to representation from a solicitor at this point.

- The police must take you to court at the next sitting.

#### STRIP SEARCHES AND INTIMATE SEARCHES

- The police have powers to strip search you, using 'reasonable' force if necessary.
- The search must be carried out by someone of the same sex unless s/he is a doctor. And only those necessary to be present for the search, should remain in the room.
- The police are not allowed to take away your clothing or property unless: a) it may be used to cause personal injury b) it may be used to cause damage to property c) it may be used to interfere with evidence d) it may assist you to escape.

These exceptions probably cover everything you are likely to have on you.

- The police have the powers to carry out intimate body searches – ears, nose, mouth, anus, vagina in order to search for either drugs or an object which could be used to cause injury to yourself or others. The search must be authorised by an officer of at least the rank of Superintendent. If the police are searching for drugs then the search must be carried out by a 'suitably qualified person' eg a doctor or nurse, and must be carried out in a doctor's surgery or similar place. If, however, the police are searching for some other item then the search may be carried out by a police officer if it is not considered 'practicable' to use a doctor or nurse, and such a search may take place in the police station.

- By law, the police are not allowed to carry out intimate body searches to look for evidence. But, since intimate body searches are used mainly to degrade and intimidate prisoners and detainees, presumably the police will invent the belief that you have offensive weapons hidden inside your body in order to justify a search.

- The police have to inform you before a strip search or an intimate search, why they are carrying this out.



## Shamefaced socialism

'...the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied only by a political revolution that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat.' (Lenin, 'What is to be done?' *Collected Works*, Vol 5 pp 390-391)

Last month I dealt with the 'wet' opposition to Thatcherism running from the 'wets' of the Tory Party to the dominant Kinnock trend in the Labour Party. Their solution to the British economic crisis amounted to little more than a revamped Keynesianism: a greater or lesser degree of state tinkering to stimulate demand together with wage restraint through incomes policies. This month I want to move further left and deal with those who rule out 'incomes policies in a capitalist economy' but who believe a solution to the crisis can be found through state planning and direction of industry, finance and trade.

**"Thatcher's policies are the ruling class's necessary response to the collapse of the post-war boom"**

Andrew Glyn is associated with the Militant Tendency and has put his case in a recent pamphlet *A Million Jobs a Year: The case for planning full employment*. Ben Fine and Laurence Harris are from the Morning Star wing of the Communist Party of Great Britain. They have put their arguments for an 'Alternative Economic Strategy' in their recent book *The Peculiarities of the British Economy*. Although they have differing views on the roots of the British economic crisis these theorists have two fundamental positions in common. First, they see the Labour Party as the vehicle for radical social change. Second, they disguise revolution as a series of thoroughgoing reforms. They are in fact shamefaced socialists.

In the early 1970s a major debate took place on Marx's theory of crisis in the Conference of Socialist Economists. Comrades who later formed the RCG took one side of the debate arguing that the crisis of capitalism was rooted in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. And that tendency was the inevitable expression of the central contradiction of the capitalist system of production. Andrew Glyn took the other side. He led the assault on Marx's theory of value and rejected Marx's explanation for a falling rate of profit. He argued that profit rates had fallen because trade union strength and organisation had forced up wages. While Glyn himself took the side of the organised working class he had developed arguments that had more in common with the position being pushed by the ruling class. Fine and Harris joined the debate after the major battles were over. Their role was to acknowledge the importance of the falling rate of profit but to empty it of any revolutionary significance. Whereas Glyn, and others who supported his view, gravitated towards the Labour Party or the Eurocommunist wing of the Communist Party, Fine and Harris became part of the orthodox wing of the Communist Party. All, with the aid of their academic posts, have attempted to make Marx's analysis of capitalism more palatable to liberal strands among the bourgeoisie. Their latest offerings are along similar lines. However, their chosen audience appears to be running rapidly away in the opposite direction.

Glyn argues that investment has stagnated since the great boom began to fall apart in the 1960s and collapsed in 1973-5 with falling profit rates and accelerating inflation. Governments have explained their refusal to expand the economy by fear of inflation or balance of payments difficulties. But behind this lies the inability of employers to raise productivity and squeeze wage levels to the extent necessary to guarantee profitable production, investment and exports. Further, employers recognise that any expansion would tilt the balance of power back to the labour movement. Unemployment has allowed wage increases to be kept down and undermined the power of the unions. The employers don't want to change this. Therefore to overcome the problem of mass unemployment requires much more far-reaching measures than are now being contemplated by the Labour Party. And Glyn's pamphlet spells them out.

Labour has to eliminate unemployment at the rate of 1 million jobs a year. Such a plan for full employment:

'would only be feasible on the basis of extensive controls over foreign exchange transactions, over the financial system, over prices, over trade and over investment in the private sector'.

Glyn not only wants to plan capitalism but do it 'democratically':

'For the proper functioning of the planning system it is essential that all those affected in the various sectors and enterprises, as workers and consumers, are involved in both long-range planning and day-to-day operating decisions'.

And to create such 'democratic systems of planning' he would mobilise 'the resources of the labour movement, and the experience and expertise of Labour supporters'. This would be no mean task. At the moment these 'resources of democratic planning' are busy witch-hunting people like Glyn, or at least his friends in the Militant Tendency, out of the Labour Party.

But this is a minor hiccup compared to what comes next. Glyn wants to take the major financial institutions - 'capitalism's nerve centre' - into immediate public ownership. Those who work in that sector have to be won to 'wholehearted involvement in planning and running the financial institutions'. And so it goes on. Glyn wants planning agreements imposed on major companies by the government; socialisation of boards of management for firms not incorporated in the public sector; and eventually by demonstration 'through the process of struggling to shape the development of the economy, the 'nationalisation of all the commanding heights of the economy'. Socialism by winning hearts and minds! Little wonder that Glyn's pamphlet is not a programme for action but has only the object of contributing 'towards shifting discussion in the Labour Party'.

In explaining the weakness of the British economy, Fine and Harris differ from Glyn. They see the political and economic weakness of the labour movement as a factor which explains the state's 'inadequate attention to the more directive role of intervening in and guiding capitalist accumulation except on a piecemeal basis'. Thatcherism for them is not a break with the past but the 'culmination of the British state's long abdication from the real planning of production and accumulation even in the nationalised industries'. This point about Thatcherism is obvious nonsense. Thatcher's policies are the ruling class's necessary response to the collapse of the post-war boom. In that sense they are a break with the past.

Fine and Harris argue further that the particular historical development of the British financial system explains why it has not become involved in industry. The City has not only blocked progressive state policies in relation to industry but 'has itself failed to stimulate industrial growth'. Finally there is the 'international' dimension.

'...the commitment given by government at crucial conjunctures to furthering the internationalisation of capital, adopting the perspective of MNCs (Multinational Corporations) and international banking ...'

All this shorn of its trimmings says that Britain is an imperialist nation. You won't find it in their index and the word imperialism appears perhaps once in their text. However, Britain does have the classic characteristics of a *rentier* state in which a growing proportion of wealth comes, in one way or another, from the profits produced by workers and oppressed peoples elsewhere in the world. The political and economic weakness of the British labour movement, the rotten character of the British Labour Party and its ties to imperialism can only be explained by this fact. Fine and Harris cannot say this because it would destroy their political alliances. So, like Glyn, they argue for an 'Alternative Economic Strategy', with an almost identical programme of demands, to be taken up by a 'left' Labour government to solve the crisis and plan capitalism in the interests of the working class.

**"At the moment these 'resources of democratic planning' are busy witch-hunting people like Glyn, or at least his friends in the Militant Tendency, out of the Labour Party"**

Before the working class can plan production, finance and foreign trade it must first take political power - institute the dictatorship of the proletariat. This position follows from Marx's scientific analysis of capitalism and of the capitalist crisis which has as its foundation the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. What Glyn, Fine and Harris call an 'alternative economic strategy' requires nothing less than the overthrow of British imperialism for its implementation. Can anyone be so naive as to think that British financial institutions whose ramifications are spread throughout the world can be run in the interests of the working class within capitalism? This is shamefaced socialism. So is the belief that any Labour government would ever carry out such a programme. Once we leave the fantasy world of Glyn, Fine and Harris and enter our real world, it is clear that a future Labour government, under the very real Mr Kinnock, like all earlier Labour governments, would be at the beck and call of the bankers and would attack the living standards of the working class. Shamefaced socialism is proved to be nothing but a 'left' cover for the imperialist Labour Party.

David Reed

## The crisis in Colombia

The eruption of the Colombian volcano Nevada del Ruiz on 13 November, claiming 25,000 lives, came only a week after the killing of at least 97 people in an army siege of the Palace of Justice in the country's capital, Bogota. Both events illustrated the utter contempt of the Colombian state for its people.

Colombia is a country of poverty, striking inequality, and untrained imperialist exploitation, with a long history of state violence against the left. For decades, sections of its people have been fighting back in armed resistance movements, including M-19 - the April 19th Movement.

M-19 and most of the other resistance movements signed cease-fires with President Betancur in 1984, in exchange for promises of reforms and freedom to advance their political views. These truces have been repeatedly broken by the army, with attacks on M-19 controlled areas in the south of Colombia, and by numerous assassinations by both the army and right-wing death-squads, including 70 top and middle members of one group. Betancur's promises of reform have sunk without trace.

So on 16 November M-19 occupied the Palace of Justice, taking several Supreme Court judges hostage. They demanded the publication of official documents revealing the army's

breaches of the ceasefire and the right to make statements through the media to the Colombian people.

Despite the pleas of the judges, Betancur refused to negotiate and sent in the army, who attacked with cannon, machine guns, and dynamite, killing freedom fighters and hostages alike. All 55 of the M-19 fighters died, along with the Chief Justice of Colombia, 11 other judges, many civilians, and government soldiers. During the days following, the army launched attacks on M-19 bases and activists who had been leading the struggle for decent facilities in the urban slums.

Betancur's brutality outraged the Colombian people. Judicial workers throughout the country struck in protest at his failure to negotiate for the lives of the hostages, the remaining judges threatened to resign en masse, and most of the relatives of the dead refused to attend the state memorial service.

For a while it seemed the

eruption of Nevada del Ruiz might divert this anger. Armero and other towns were struck by devastating mud-flows, killing thousands and prompting a massive rescue operation. However, it soon emerged that it had been known for months that the volcano was on the verge of erupting, and that this would inevitably lead to mud-flows overwhelming Armero. Even while the mud was bearing down on the town, the government radio station was telling people to stay at home. This criminal neglect cost thousands of lives, and once again Colombians are demanding to know why they are treated with such contempt.

As if all this was not enough, Betancur is now considering yet another betrayal - an IMF package of austerity measures and a wage freeze (on top of the current recession) in return for a \$1 billion credit from the imperialist banks, whom Colombia already owes \$11 billion. Latest reports indicate that the Colombian military has stepped up its bloody campaign against M-19, but is meeting mass resistance from the oppressed communities.

Dave Hunter

### UNESCO

Since its foundation the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation has sponsored literacy campaigns, studies of the ocean, preservation of flora, fauna and culture. It has campaigned against colonialism and racism and for peace and disarmament, but it is the campaign for a New World Information and Communications Order (NWICO) that has really angered the US and British ruling classes.

With due ceremony the Minister of Education in the Attlee government launched UNESCO thus 'It is for us to clear the channels through which may flow from nation to nation the streams of knowledge and thought, of truth and beauty, which are the foundations of true civilisation'. Thirty years later, three quarters of humanity in the oppressed nations control just 5 per cent of the world's international communications network. When Mr Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow became the first African to head UNESCO in 1974 he declared information to be power; power residing in a handful of rich capitalist countries and corporations. For committing aid to change a situation wherein the 'Third World' contains just 6 per cent of the world's telephones, 4.5 per cent of its television transmitters, and uses just 12 per cent of its printing paper M'Bow was attacked by Timothy Raison as 'a threat to freedom of the press... and the free flow of information': a threat to the communications stranglehold of the monopolies.

M'Bow and UNESCO have been subjected to a smear campaign orchestrated by the press and broadcasting transnationals. These corporations share control of the new computer and satellite transmission systems with the banking and industrial combines. Increasingly, capital is wielded around the globe through these systems, news is filtered to fit investment and strategic purposes, and a fantasy picture of capitalist culture is projected onto oppressed peoples. UNESCO can decolonise

## Foreign policy for sale

On Thursday 5 December Timothy Raison, Minister of Overseas Development, announced that Britain would follow the USA and leave UNESCO. On Friday 6 December Defence Minister Michael Heseltine signed Britain up to join the USA in its Star Wars programme. True to form, like grasping merchants who will squeeze a profit out of anything they can put a price on, the British government sold its foreign policy to the highest bidder: the international corporations. The UNESCO and Star Wars decisions are but two sides of the same coin, the civilian and military interests of the giant combines which would monopolise and profit from control of global communications systems and weaponry.

global communications only by challenging the transnationals monopoly of the satellite and data processing market and technology. Interestingly, Singapore where the transnationals assemble and export electronic components, has recently declared its intentions to also leave UNESCO.

### Star Wars

The United States' contribution to UNESCO barely amounted to more than 0.001 per cent of its military spending. Britain's withholding of £6.4 million is about one thousandth of its weapons' expenditure. These are boom times for the weapons makers; a steady stream of corporate officials have been promoting the feasibility and desirability of Star Wars to the Pentagon and Whitehall policy makers. The Wall Street Stock Exchange predicts a 20 per cent rise in 1986 share prices for firms in on the Star Wars programme compared with an 8 per cent average. Twenty six billion dollars is scheduled for Star Wars contracts by 1989, but investment analysts are gazing at trillions: 'Money from heaven' said one. Rockwell, which produces satellites and rocket technology, has multiplied its military trade twenty times during Reagan's rule. So profitable is the Star Wars project that giants like Chrysler and General Motors have been buying into the aerospace business.

'A very significant opportunity for British industry' was Hes-

eltine's brazen justification for signing the agreement. No qualms about striking a pen through any trust that may have been achieved at the Geneva summit. No doubts about encouraging the Reagan administration's bellicosity over the issue which the Soviet Union considers paramount if nuclear escalation is to be averted. Money, greed, a share of the contracts, profits, and damn the consequences was the attitude of the Thatcher government. Jostling in the queue are firms like Shorts of Belfast, researching into high-velocity anti-missile rockets, Marconi, Ferranti, Plessey and Racal in advanced electronics, British Aerospace with sensor technology and projectiles. Britain leads the world in infra-red detectors, and optical computers. Corporation research departments and university laboratories alike are prostrating themselves before the Golden Calf of Star Wars.

In the decisions to leave UNESCO and join Star Wars we see the same vile contempt for any human values which has guided the British ruling class since its foundation on slavery and annexations. The transnational corporations would render the mass of humanity into mute material, to be applied and disposed of wherever and in whatever proportions capital sees fit, to be struck down from afar should it ever rebel against this fate.

Trevor Rayne



True to his word, on 2 December within hours of General Fabian Ver's clearance of any guilt in the 1983 murder of Benigno Aquino, President Marcos had reinstated him as Armed Forces Chief of Staff. Twelve hours later Marcos called special presidential elections for 7 February 1986. The following day he announced \$62 million worth of Christmas bonuses for government employees and pledged a \$14.9 million pay increase for soldiers and military retirees. The central bank announced a mysterious inflow of \$721 million: the Marcos family and its cronies are known to control at least four commercial banks, and have more of the 'three Gs' – guns, goons and gold – than anyone else. They are confident of winning the February elections.

Marcos was forced into the elections by the Reagan administration's alarm at the mounting opposition movement. The recent period has seen a constant relay of senior US officials visiting Marcos: CIA Director William Casey, Ambassador to the United Nations Vernon Walters, and close friend of Reagan Senator Paul Laxalt. US imperialism is worried. This is against a background of an official foreign debt of \$26 billion, a national product that shrank 5.5 per cent last year, 60 per cent under- or unemployed, almost half of the nation's sugar plantation land idle, threatening 250,000 workers with starvation. Mass civil unrest in the form of strikes and street demonstrations is combining with armed struggle to pose a real threat to imperialism's interests in the Philippines and throughout the region.

Imperialism is groping for an answer to its problems. On the one hand it is using the elections to see if a viable bourgeois pro-US opposition to Marcos can emerge to head off the growing support being given the outlawed National Democratic Front and its military wing, the New People's Army. On the other hand it is stepping up counter-insurgency measures and preparing for an outright military intervention.

The two official candidates opposed to Marcos have reluctantly agreed on a joint campaign. Both Cory Aquino, widow of Benigno, and Salvador Laurel represent disenchanted elements of the Filipino elite offering nothing more than a 'cleaner' government as the solution to the economic and political crisis. Aquino's bereavement wins her a sympathy vote. She is touting the US for support calling on the NPA to lay down its arms, asking for more foreign investment, and reassuring the US that its air and naval bases will remain negotiable should she win.

Whatever reservations the US army

## Philippines

# Elections offer no hope



NPA guerrillas on patrol in the Philippines

have about Marcos, in July the US Congress agreed a \$180 million military and economic aid package to his regime. The result will be an increase in the strength of the Philippine Armed Forces from 75 to 100 battalions and a growth of the

paramilitary force from 300,000 to 400,000. At the same time elite US Special Operation Forces have been moved into Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base. Over 20,000 US troops are already stationed at the two bases. They assist in

directing the escalating counter-insurgency programme. Massacres, political assassinations, kidnappings, strategic hamlets, arbitrary arrests and torture are now the widespread practice of the US-Marcos regime.

Whatever the result of the elections the NDF and the NPA will fight on. The NPA now operates in 62 of the Philippines 73 provinces with over 12,000 regular combatants. They are linked through the NDF with the scores of 'cause-oriented' groups which make up the 'parliament on the streets'. The NDF has painstakingly built up a network of legal and illegal organisations that draw in industrial workers, the unemployed, urban poor, clergy, professional, students and rural workers. Their programme is clear and winning over ever more sections of the population, including some of the middle classes. It calls for the removal of all US bases, land reform, nationalisation of strategic industries, and the restructuring of the economy by breaking its dependence on imperialist markets and transnational banks.

Earlier this year the NDF provisional council on Mindanao outlined its perspectives, foreseeing a strategic stalemate within the next three to five years. 'Militarily, this means that the New People's Army shall have attained a rough parity with the enemy forces in major areas, marked by the increasing capacity to undertake regular mobile warfare, such as the seizure of big towns and cities and wiping out of large enemy forces. Politically, this means the escalation of the people's open political struggle into popular uprisings and insurrections directed at shattering the regime's foundations of power.'

Trevor Rayne and Jonathan Cohen

## CHILE'S RESISTANCE

The movement for liberation in Chile grows stronger. During the 5-6 November national protest against the Pinochet regime four people were shot dead, eighty wounded and 500 arrested. Among those arrested were five leaders of the National Worker Command which called the protest. The cities of Santiago and Valparaiso were effectively brought to a halt.

The protests' sponsors include Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) which unites the Communist Party, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and avowedly Marxist Leninist sections of the Socialist Party. These forces have converged in the heat of intensified class struggle around an understanding that neither behind the scenes negotiations nor peaceful strikes and demonstrations, nor anything less than armed struggle will rid the Chilean people of the tyranny.

On the part of the Communist Party this is an especially positive development. In effect it now recognises that it was mistaken during the Allende government to oppose the arming of the people and to have placed confidence in the 'democratic vocation' of the military. Indeed, it was on the Communist Party's initiative that an armed organisation – the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) – was set up, though the MIR and revolutionary socialists are also participating.

The FPMR has already carried out impressive armed actions in Santiago and Valparaiso greatly strengthening its popularity especially among the youth.

During the national protest a bomb blast blacked out much of central Chile and an armed commando assault was launched leaving one policeman dead and another wounded. The weapons captured went to increase the people's arsenal against the oppressor.

Mike Webber

## IN FOR THE KILL

Mexican President de la Madrid's call for 'passionate nationalism' in the face of the disaster rings more and more hollow as the banks move in to take advantage of Mexico's distress. The Mexican finance minister, Jesús Silva Herzog, is seeking a new agreement with the IMF. To secure the \$7bn required simply for earthquake reconstruction next year, Mexico will have to comply with a rigorous new austerity programme – imposed by the IMF.

The official Mexican figures attribute only 6,000 deaths to the earthquake. The cynical attempt to play down the disaster is part and parcel of a campaign to reassure the banks of Mexico's intention to honour its \$96bn debt. As the glare of publicity has faded so too has the provision of food; amongst rumours of corruption those dispossessed by the 'quake are being left to cope as best they can. Marches on the national palace and the Presidential residence have been organised by the homeless, in response to the callous disregard of the authorities.

They can expect little change from de la Madrid's government. Mexico is in the throes of a financial collapse which threatens to be worse than the '82 crisis which sent shock waves through the institutions of the imperialist bankers. The peso is plummeting in relation to the dollar prompting Mexico's central bank to step in to limit the ability of Mexican banks to sell pesos abroad. The flight of capital has reached chronic proportions. Estimates put the amount that has made it out of Mexico this year through exchange houses on the Mexican/US border at about \$18bn. On top of this the fall in world oil prices now threatens to make any semblance of further credit-worthiness untenable. Repayments can only attempt to exact further unpayable tributes from the masses.

Malcolm Ellis

## PERU

Peru halted all debt repayments to the IMF on 10 December 1985. The suspension will last until August 1986. With only a third of the workforce employed full-time, industrial output shrinking by over a fifth in 3 years, and armed insurrection against the Peruvian government, led by the Sendero Luminoso, increasing, the government of President Alan García declared in the summer of 1985 that it would use only 10 per cent of its export earnings to repay its \$14 billion debt. The 1986 budget earmarked just \$320 million for repayments when \$5.1 billion is due. Peru is some \$100 million overdue already in repayments to the IMF.

Imperialism has swiftly manoeuvred to isolate and force President García to back down on the '10 per cent' stand. US bankers in particular have been withholding further credits, threatening investment projects and trade. García is faced with a stark and awesome choice: whether to confront the masses with IMF orders or to confront the IMF and imperialists with the orders of the masses.

Trevor Rayne

## Greece

# Workers resist

Like the French Socialist Party before it and the Kinnock campaign to come, PASOK (The Greek Socialist Party, Panhellenic Socialist Movement) was re-elected to government in June 1985 on left promises. PASOK promised to end economic recession, index-link wages, and withdraw US bases by 1988. The Greek working class have very quickly learnt what social democratic party promises are worth: the demand for the withdrawal of US bases was dropped within a fortnight of the new government, wages have been frozen for 2 years with inflation running at 20 per cent, and local authority spending has been slashed by up to 25 per cent.

These measures have provoked a swift and vehement response with a series of 24 hour protest general strikes. The 24-hour general strike of 21 October, called by the Greek Trades Union Confederation (GSEE), brought commerce throughout the country to a virtual standstill.

On 17 November, the traditional Athens march, to the US Embassy, commemorating the student uprising against the US-backed military dictatorship 12 years ago, took on a new character. The PASOK government has, in the past, been keen to claim some of the glory for organising that protest; however, this year, much of the people's anger was aimed at its policies and its police force's aggression. The youth demonstrated their hatred of repression and privilege by breaking windows of South African Airways offices and the Hilton Hotel in Athens. The Greek police response was vicious and violent, culminating in the shooting dead of a 15-year-old schoolboy, Michaelis Kaltezos. Fighting followed between the police and the youth, who then occupied Athens Polytechnic in protest

against the violence of police tactics.

Despite attempts and continued violence, the police were unable to break the occupation of the Polytechnic. After two days the students were joined by thousands of Athenians on their march to the Greek parliament to protest against the police shooting of their 15-year-old comrade. This march took place in defiance of the communist party-dominated Student Union leadership, who cancelled their call for the march because they were afraid of the prospect of further confrontation with the police and government, and who muttered darkly of right wing destabilisation.

Alarmed, the PASOK government suspended the police chiefs, pending the outcome of an investigation into the killing. Previously Papandreou expelled 8 trade union leaders from his party for backing the strike action taken by Greek workers.

In the face of such internal opposition to his austerity measures, Papandreou, leader of PASOK, has been keen to make a show of implementing other government promises, such as the with-

drawal of US warheads and military bases. The withdrawal of US warheads from Northern Greece, however it is presented by the government, cannot be seen as the first step in the fulfilment of this policy. The warheads in question are outdated anyway and no longer have any significance in the European armory of NATO. The US has more than 24 bases and installations throughout the Greek mainland and islands. Other promises, for example the withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, are now no longer on the Greek government's agenda.

Louise Wells

## Plots against the Seychelles

Without hesitation, without reference to any evidence whatsoever, the British ruling class media pointed the finger of accusation at the progressive Seychelles government for the killing of Gerard Hoareau outside his London home on 29 November. Had the news managers any interest in doing anything other than slandering President Albert Rene's government they would have found that Hoareau swam in a sewer infested with mercenary cut-throats and gangsters, and had paid the price of keeping such company.

Hoareau has publicly vowed to dedicate his life to the overthrow of President Rene and the People's Progressive Front government. Such talk has an eager audience willing to give fortunes if it will make the dream come true. Last year Hoareau was invited to a rally of the World Anti-Communist League held in San Diego USA. From its origins among Kuomintang remnants down to today the WACL has been riddled with heroin and cocaine dealers, ex-Nazis and the orchestrators of Latin American death squads. More recently White House officials disclosed that the WACL was the body chosen by the Reagan administration through which to channel

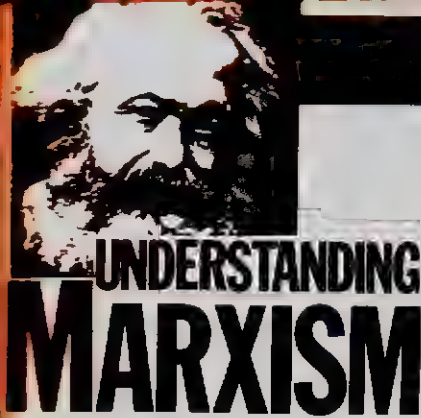
unofficial funds to the contras for the overthrow of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. It boasts of raising \$12 million in 1984 for the contras alone.

Significantly also in 1984, Hoareau split from Mancham to form the Seychelles National Movement. It had practically no support from the Seychellois people. Just six weeks before Hoareau's death the Seychelles government uncovered a further plot against it involving a rump of reactionary exiles and a foreign intelligence service. Those with even half an eye for the truth could have deduced that Hoareau had entered the big league where the CIA, the international Mafia and the South African government play and they expect results for their money!

As predictable as the media, the British police responded to the shooting by questioning supporters of the Seychelles' government in Britain. Imperialism lives to plot on for another day and the press and TV have done their duty and slung some dirt which might damage the Seychelles' valuable tourist industry. All democratic and socialist people must demand an end to the plots against the Seychelles people and support their demand for the removal of all imperialist bases in the Indian Ocean.

Trevor Rayne





## UNDERSTANDING MARXISM

### THE RISE OF THE LABOUR ARISTOCRACY

In 1848 the revolutionary Chartist movement was defeated in a decisive showdown with the government. The Chartists attempted to march on parliament on 10 April 1848 to present their third national petition (with over 2 million signatures) calling for a People's Charter. The government turned London into an armed camp and mobilised nearly the whole upper and middle classes as special constables (nearly 170,000 in all). 100,000 Chartists still assembled at Kennington Common in London but, faced with such a massive display of armed strength and with divisions in their own ranks, the march was called off. The petition was taken to parliament 'undangerously in a few cabs'. It was eventually debated in parliament some 15 months later when by a majority of 222 to 17 it was rejected. The abject end to the Kennington Common demonstration broke the back of the Chartist movement.

The existence of a mass revolutionary socialist movement depends on the fusion of two social movements: 'one, a spontaneous movement, a popular movement within the working class, the other, the movement of social thought in the direction of the theory of Marx and Engels...' (Lenin). The union of Chartism with scientific socialism was historically not to occur. For precisely at the time that Marx and Engels were able to build political links with the revolutionary wing of Chartism, that movement was in decline. Not only had Chartism suffered a major defeat in 1848 but the conditions in Britain which had given rise to that movement were beginning to change.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century (1850-75) British capitalism, with the markets of the world under its domination and its vast colonial possessions, rapidly expanded and was able to relax the extreme pressure upon the working class which had been always present in the 1830s and 1840s. Wages rose considerably - estimates say by as much as a third - and conditions improved especially for the skilled workers and craftsmen; a labour aristocracy who more and more assumed the leadership of the working class. These privileged workers turned aside from Chartism to build up their 'New Model' trade unions and their Cooperative Societies.

Some 10% to 15% of the working class made up this labour aristocracy. Its weekly wages were on average between 50% and 85% higher than those of labourers. Trade unionism became mainly concerned with the organisation of skilled workers and craftsmen. Those who did try to organise unskilled workers in the towns met resistance and complained that 'strikes had failed in consequence of the aristocracy of mechanics and artisans ignoring unpaid labourers'. The 'New Model' trade unions for the first time had a trained staff of salaried officials. They almost always had high subscriptions - in the region of 1 shilling a week (a labourer's wage was in the region of 15 shillings or less a week). They offered a series of benefits such as unemployment, superannuation, sickness, accident and death allowances. They were not concerned with securing control of the entire process of production but with defending their interests and protecting their jobs.

Alongside the rise of these 'New Model' unions were the Cooperative Societies. Those who joined them received a 'dividend on purchases' as well as interest on capital. Whatever the claims of these skilled workers and others who sponsored such societies, the fact that shares were in the region of £1 each would rule out any benefits for the millions of workers earning around 15 shillings or less a week. The skilled workers and craftsmen, the privileged layers of the working class, were building for themselves a stake in the capitalist system.

The character of the organised British working class movement totally changed. It was now composed of a privileged stratum who looked to their own minority interests and no longer represented the interests of the vast majority of the working class. They rejected socialism as utopian and identified their interests with the growing prosperity of British capitalism. This was to have crucially important political consequences for the working class movement in Britain.

David Reed

# Prisoners and the County Court

The subject of lost or damaged property is a vexed one for prisoners. Many prisoners have been transferred either permanently or on a 10/74, only to find that when (if ever) they are reunited with their possessions, they are either damaged beyond repair or items have been 'lost'. The Prison Rules 1964 inform us that in such cases the prisoner should petition the Secretary of State and request compensation. In the 3 1/4 years that I have now been in prison, I have lost count of the number of times that I have seen such petitions rejected out of hand with those immortal words, 'The Secretary of State has fully considered your petition but is not prepared to grant your request'. What inflames the injustice of such replies is not only the fact that they arrive after months of waiting, but further they are sent in the full knowledge that most prisoners will not possess the means to challenge them. In short, the 'Knockback' is treated as the end of the matter and the injustice put down to experience.

I have had my property both lost and destroyed and further I have enough 'knockbacks' to build an abundance of paper aeroplanes, yet I have gone on in the County Court to win damages against the Home Office for varying amounts between £56 and £235. It is true that with an Honours degree in Law, I am perhaps in a more favourable position than most prisoners to raise such challenges, but the object of this brief article is to show that with a little thought and planning you too could take your case to court and win - the 'knockback' is not the end, it is only the beginning.

Throughout the country there are more than 250 County Courts. They exist to try civil claims such as breach of contract, or claims for damage or loss caused through negligence. The jurisdiction (authority) of the County Court falls into two sections. The first part - known as 'arbitration' - concerns itself with claims for less than £500. This is sometimes known as the 'Small Claims Court'. In actions in this court the emphasis is on informality. There is no judge as such; the case is decided by a trained lawyer - usually the Registrar. The strict rules of evidence do not apply and the case is decided with the parties sitting around a table in a private room to which the press or public are not admitted. It is assumed that most prisoners' cases will come to this court (ie be for less than £500) and it is on this we shall concentrate. In the Small Claims Court (SCC) there is one very special rule - known aptly as the 'Small Claims Rule' - this states that in any claim for less than £500, the loser cannot be made liable for the costs of the other side - so even if you lose your case you are not landed with a huge bill for the legal costs of the winner. For this reason, any application for legal aid is very likely to fail, for if you lose the case, the legal aid authority cannot recover its funds. Therefore in such cases it is all down to a bit of 'Do it yourself lawyering'. There is nothing to be afraid of in this, the whole thing is designed for non-lawyers and the atmosphere and procedures are relaxed.

In order to demonstrate how it is done I shall take a fictional case of a prisoner who returns after a 'lay down' to find his record player missing from reception.

The first thing to do is to petition and as a rule of thumb - be brief and concise. eg 'On 31.10.85 I found my record player missing from reception at HMP... This is listed on my property card. If you fail to produce it, or in the alternative, pay me £75 for its loss, then legal proceedings will follow after 21 days from the date below, without any

further notice being given'.

This should be signed and dated. Obtain a photocopy of it (this is allowed under Standing Order 5c(5) and should be quoted in cases of difficulty). Having done this, open a file on the case - use a folder or even the FRFI envelope, but keep the papers in one place. Put a piece of foolscap inside and everytime you write a letter (or receive one) concerning the case, make a note of it on the foolscap sheet - you can then later claim for postage costs.

The next thing is to write to the court for the forms. If you are in a different prison, you MUST start proceedings in the court closest to the prison where the property was lost or damaged (legal aid offices have the court addresses). Address the letter to the 'Chief Clerk' and ask for the following - there is no fee for these:

- 1 x N202 - Request for a Default Summons;
- 6 x N244 - Application Forms;
- 1 x EX. 50 - Booklet;
- 1 x Fee Sheet.

Having sent this to the court, the next step is to prepare the case. The court will want proof of value. If you have a receipt, all well and good, if not then write to some large stores (Dixons, WH Smith etc) and ask for the price of the article. Keep copies of these letters. When you receive the answers note the prices; if they agree then there is no problem but if there is a difference, then choose the middle one as the amount you will claim.

The cost of the action is quite cheap. If you are claiming less than £300, the cost is 10p in the £ - or part thereof, subject to a minimum fee of £6. So if your claim is for £75 the cost is £7.50. If the claim is for between £300 - £500 the fee is fixed at £40.

When you receive the court forms, read the Booklet, this will explain the situation and probably answer all your questions. 21 days after submitting the petition, fill in the N202. This is quite straightforward. Where it asks for the details of the defendant, write 'The Home Office Prison Dept, c/o The Treasury Solicitor, 28 Broadway, London, SW1H 9SJ'. Where it requests 'Particulars of Claim', write what is missing or damaged, where it happened and between what dates. Where you allege negligence, the Home Office are entitled to know how they have been negligent, this could quite simply be 'by failing to keep the plaintiff's property in safe custody'. Where it asks for 'Plaintiff's Solicitor' write 'Plaintiff in Person' and put a line through 'Ref No'. Where it asks what the claim is for, write 'negligence'. Fill in the amount claimed (the price of the article), the

A number of prisoners and solicitors have requested copies of Mark Leech's guidance on dealing with county courts in compensation claims, so we have decided to print it in full. Mark has also agreed to write occasional articles on prisoners' legal problems. Any suggestions on areas to be covered should be sent to FRFI. We will pass them on to Mark.



After the Hull prison riot in 1976 many prisoners were ghosted and told that their personal property had been lost. Mark Leech explains how to get compensation

issue fee and total the two up. Sign and date it and send it to the court (recorded delivery) with the relevant fee. Mark the back of the envelope 'S/O 5B. 33 (A) Applies' - this means it cannot be stopped, censored or even delayed.

Within two weeks you will receive a 'Plaint Note' which will tell you the date that the summons was served - note this date, it is important. The situation can then proceed in one of three ways:

- The defendants admit the case, and you will receive a cheque for the amount you have claimed;
- They will defend the claim, in which case you receive a copy of the defence and a date to appear at court - you will have to arrange production through the prison governor - quote Section 29 Criminal Justice Act 1961 if there are problems;
- They will not reply.

Each of both (a) and (b) have to be done within 14 days of the service of the summons. If after 14 days they have not replied, then you are entitled to judgement in default - more on this in a moment. Where they defend the case read their defence carefully, you can write and ask for 'better particulars' if you do not feel they have made their defence clear. Next we have to obtain more information and we do this by way of 'discovery'. Take 3 N244s and fill in the top section with the case name and number (the number is on the plaintiff note). Then, where it says, 'I wish to apply for' write 'An order of Discovery for (a) Prison Standing Orders and Circular Instructions; (b) The report of the investigation and documents and statements relating thereto carried out by the defendants regarding the loss of my property; (c) my prison property cards'. Half way down each sheet is an 'Address for Service'. On the first copy put your name and address; on the second the court address and on the third the address of the Treasury Solicitors. Send all three to the court. You will receive a copy back with the

time and date the application will be heard on the lower half of the sheet. Again arrange for production. When asked by the court why you require them, you can say that (a) is required to prove negligence by not adhering to procedures; (b) is required to throw light on what happened and (c) to prove that the property was in the custody of the defendants when it was lost.

Having obtained the documents, sit down and prepare your case for trial. If you are going to use documents not obtained by discovery in your case, you must allow the defendants to see them beforehand - such as letters of Valuation. Write and inform them of a date they can view the letters and they are allowed to take copies - but you are not obliged to part with the originals.

In court, present your case calmly and slowly, be patient and start at the beginning. If you have difficulty showing exactly how they were negligent, inform the Registrar that you wish to plead *Res Ipsa Loquitur* (The facts speak for themselves) in that the property was in their custody and they cannot produce it. If the Registrar agrees, the tables are turned and it then is left for the defendants to show they have not been negligent.

If the defendants do not reply to the summons after 14 days, then using the N244s (3 copies again) apply for judgement in default. Say when the summons was served and that they have failed to reply. You will have to arrange for production to attend the hearing. Take your papers with you, for the Registrar will want to see your case and proof of value before he enters judgement. Once you have judgement they must pay the cost of the claim into court within 14 days or you can ask for enforcement - wouldn't it be nice to see the bailiffs removing Douglas Hurd's furniture to pay your debt!

One further point, whilst you won't get legal aid, you can get advice under the Green Form Scheme if you are at all unsure of what to do.

It is not a difficult process, a little time and effort can produce rewards far in excess of their financial value, the initial outlay is small, but the taste of victory comrades is sweet!

In solidarity

Mark F Leech  
LL B (Hons)

The Black Female Prisoners Scheme, Inquest, PRO (National Prisoners Movement), Radical Alternatives to Prison have combined to form the Prisoners Advice and Information Network (PAIN). PAIN aims to provide advice and, where possible, help on prisoners' problems. FRFI will be cooperating with PAIN. Any information sent to us, when requested, will be passed on to PAIN. PAIN can be contacted at BM PAIN, London WC1N 3XX (phone 01 542 3744).

## NEW YEAR GREETINGS AND SOLIDARITY

FRFI sends warmest wishes and solidarity to all prisoners fighting for justice. We salute the skill, courage and selflessness shown by prisoners in their struggle for democratic rights. Victory to the prisoners! Prisoners rights now!

We send special greetings to all Irish Republican prisoners for Christmas and the New Year. May 1986 be a successful year both for the Irish people and for the prisoners struggling for their rights in British hell-holes. We also send our greetings to the two POWs whose birthdays come soon. We ask readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery, to ensure their arrival.

William Armstrong 119085, HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight (last known location) 26 December.  
Eddie O'Neill 135722, HM Prison Frankland, Finchale Avenue, Braxside, Durham DH1 5SB 15 January.  
Greetings finally to Roy Walsh, Irish POW who has been transferred to Frankland from Norwich.



# HANDS OFF IRELAND!

IN BRIEF



London ISCs picket Fleet Street on 4 December 1985

November marked the third anniversary of strip-searching women prisoners in Armagh jail in the North of Ireland. July saw the extension of this humiliating and degrading practice to two Irish women, held on remand as category A prisoners in Brixton jail. Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer face charges arising from the Prevention of Terrorism Act swoops in June, after the so-called 'seaside bombing conspiracy'. FRFI spoke to Isabella Barbour, Martina's sister, and Susan O'Hagan, who has two sisters and a niece in Armagh. They were in Britain to publicise the treatment of the women held in Brixton and Armagh.

Isabella had this to say about the two women's present conditions: 'These two women have been receiving at least 50 strip-searches a month. Apart from

Strip-Searches in Brixton Gaol

## Fifty times a month

the strip-searches they were always told at the start...that the folds of their bodies may also be searched... They have not done it but they've more or less told them that they will be doing it, if and when they feel like.'

She also gave us a detailed account of other forms of harassment that the women have been enduring. 'For six nights in October both girls were kept awake all night by constant banging on their cell doors and for the last three weeks prison officers have been waking the women every 15 minutes.'

Martina also suffers from migraine. During a particularly severe attack in August she repeatedly requested medical attention but was ignored. At 2 o'clock on the second day she was given an aspirin. The prison authorities were forced to admit neglect when the governor, a woman, visited the wing on the third day. Isabella explains - 'when she saw how sick Martina was she apologised to her for the neglect of medical attention.'

Prisoners held on remand are locked up for up to 23 hours a day, so the one hour of exercise becomes vital to their mental and physical well-being. Yet the exercise yard that Martina and Ella are expected to use is L-shaped and only measures 36 steps by 12 steps. Seven screws also line up along the walls while the women exercise to watch their every move. The two women are now refusing to use this exercise yard under these conditions.

How best to build support for the two women in Brixton and the Armagh

women is an important question facing the solidarity movement in Britain. Susan O'Hagan is clear: 'We would like to see it more widely publicised. For more people to understand what it is about... You don't carry out this kind of practice if you're a nice person... they're doing it as vindictively as they possibly can, because they hate everything that Republicans hold dear, as alien to them... it's the same here (Brixton) you can rest assured that the warders carrying this out are anti-Irish one hundred and ten per cent.'

Just as in the case of the Armagh women the strip-searches are used to try to intimidate, but Martina and Ella assure us that they are in good spirits.

Isabella reminded us of Britain's record of ill-treating prisoners: 'let's not forget that Britain has already been found guilty of torture in Northern Ireland... So it's nothing new for Britain.'

The London Irish Solidarity Committee held a street meeting in Brixton town centre and a picket of Fleet Street in order to counteract and protest against the media's refusal to publicise the truth about the women in Brixton and Armagh.

Sian Bond

### PUBLIC MEETING

**Brixton-Armagh - Stop the Strip-Searches**

Monday 20 January 7.30pm at Lambeth Town Hall (nearest tube Brixton)

Organised by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

Only 13 Labour MPs voted against the agreement. They were: Tony Benn, Tam Dalyell, Dennis Skinner, Robert Clay, Harry Cohen, Jeremy Corbyn, Terry Fields, James Lamond, Joan Maynard, David Nellist, Robert Parry, Martin Redmond and Ernie Roberts.

After 16 years of armed occupation of the Six Counties still only 13 Labour MPs reject British imperialist rule in Ireland. To those who have argued that solidarity work in Britain should concentrate its focus on winning the Labour Party we say: 16 years - 13 MPs. The effectiveness of the 'change the Labour Party' strategy speaks for itself.

For the nationalist community the reality will be more of the same - repression, unemployment, discrimination.

The conflict between loyalists and the British government will be centre stage for the next few months. But the real stumbling block for this plan, as for all imperialist plans in Ireland, will be the strength and determination of the nationalist people and the Republican movement. They know that only the defeat of British imperialism can secure their liberation.

**No British Plans for Ireland! Troops Out Now!**

Maxine Williams

### PUBLIC MEETING

**DEFEND MAIRE O'SHEA!**

**SMASH THE PTA!**

Monday 13 January 1986, 7.30pm Basement Theatre, Albert Square

Organised by Manchester Maire O'Shea Support Group

Maire's trial begins the next day in Manchester Crown Court.

## RUC IN THE COLD

Throughout the Six Counties the IRA campaign to stop building work on RUC buildings and prisons has had remarkable success. Over the last six months the IRA has threatened with execution all building contractors and suppliers who collaborate with the RUC and British Army by working on these buildings. Four major building firms have publicly announced that they will no longer work at RUC or British Army bases; the £150 million investment programme to refurbish and build new police stations is in jeopardy; work has stopped on bomb-damaged police stations; building work at Long Kesh and Magilligan Prisons is affected and work has stopped at the new £40 million Maghaberry Prison which is already

three years behind schedule.

Alongside the contractor campaign goes that against RUC and UDR soldiers - from January to 9 December 1985 twenty-three RUC had been killed (equal to the highest figure in 1976) and 151 UDR officers have now been killed since its formation in 1970. The effectiveness of the IRA campaign has forced the British government to consider the use of British and European contractors as well as the British Army to carry out this work: building work which is essential to maintain the state machinery used to torture, interrogate and imprison the nationalist community.

Pauline Sellars

continued from page 1

### CRISIS LOOMS FOR ANGLO-IRISH DEAL

fore to the presentation of the Six Counties as a democratic state. At each stage, the loyalists have prevented even the semblance of a constitutional path being opened up. Recently, when Republicans have been elected to local councils, the loyalists have suspended the councils. Now even the Northern Ireland Assembly is set to collapse with the Alliance Party walking out in the face of Unionist decisions to suspend business and form a committee to compile a report on the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

It is important to recognise that the disagreement between British imperialism and the loyalists is about tactics - both are agreed on the principles of British imperialist rule in the Six Counties and the necessity to defeat the Republican movement. How this is to be achieved is the issue. However violently they may fall out over the coming period, it is the alliance between loyalism and British imperialism that remains the cornerstone of British rule in Ireland.

The Southern ruling class too is

anxious to defeat the Republican movement. Alongside the severe economic crisis in the South (the national debt is £17bn and unemployment is 17½%) has gone a growth in support for Sinn Féin. As the newspaper the *Sunday Tribune* commented:

'The British Foreign Office was worried that the radicalisation of the nationalist population in Northern Ireland which occurred as a result of the hunger strikes, would extend to Southern Ireland, leading to an instability on the part of the island as a whole.'

The crisis in the Twenty Six Counties is driving growing sections of the population to connect the struggle on social issues with the fight to rid Ireland of British imperialist domination. It is no accident that the opinion polls about the Agreement show support coming from the middle classes and farmers whilst opposition comes from the working class.



### EXTRADITION FIASCO

In a blow to the extradition strategy, Seamus Shannon was acquitted by Belfast judges on 13 December. Shannon was extradited from the Twenty Six Counties in July 1984 on a charge of murdering Sir Norman Stronge and his son. The 'evidence' against him - 2 fingerprints - was ruled insufficient and he was freed after 2½ years in custody. A week earlier Brendan Burns was freed when Dublin High Court decided he was being held illegally after extradition attempts had failed.

### GARDA PROTECT HEROIN PUSHERS

The growing success and militancy of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs Campaign (CPAD) in Dublin has been met with garda brutality, arrests and smears. The Twenty Six County government has not only done nothing about the heroin epidemic in its capital city but protects the 'pushers' and arrests and beats up parents who have organised to deal with the growing drug problem. On 23 October over 150 parents picketed and occupied the home of 'Ma Baker', a known drug pusher. Riot police invaded the house, brutalising the protestors. 20 were arrested, including local Sinn Féin, many more were badly injured.

Protests by CPAD at garda violence brought down raids and more arrests of CPAD activists and public attacks on CPAD from the Minister of Justice who warned of a 'Sinn Féin front'. Smears, intimidation and threats have only served to strengthen CPAD. In Cathedral View 70 out of 72 tenants are on rent strike until the Corporation officially remove 'Ma Baker's' name from the now unoccupied house.

### REPRISALS AT PORTLAOISE

Portlaoise Prison hit the news with the daring escape attempt by twelve Republican POWs on 24 November. The meticulously planned operation was only foiled when an explosives charge misfired. Prison warders responded with forcible strip-searches and beatings. Relatives were refused visits and the twelve are now in solitary for two months. FRFI sends them greetings and solidarity.

### DEATH SENTENCE

FRFI sends solidarity to Michael McHugh and Noel Callan. Both have been convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a garda. Although no-one has been hung in the Twenty Six Counties since 1954 with the death penalty being commuted to forty years without remission on appeal, Callan has been refused leave to appeal and McHugh has not appealed. Arrangements for the execution will go ahead for 27 December 1985 unless FitzGerald's Cabinet commutes the death sentence.

### NOTHING IS SACRED

The tragic death of Dominic McGlinchey's fifteen month old daughter, Maire, has been used by the garda as a means of harassing the family. First they opposed Dominic's request for compassionate parole to attend the funeral. Then, after a judge had granted this, the garda acted in a revoltingly callous fashion. They ordered that the child's coffin be searched; they attempted to strip search her mother, Mary McGlinchey. Finally they removed the curtains from the room containing the coffin and then spied on Dominic as he paid his final respects to his daughter.

FRFI sends deepest sympathy to the McGlinchey family.

Pauline Sellars



# REVIEWS

## Imperialist terror-Britain and Ireland

### HARINGEY POLICE SUB-COMMITTEE

Report of 3 December 1985 on policing of Broadwater Farm Estate and surrounding area on Sunday 6 October and following.

In FRFI 54 and 55 we covered police oppression and intimidation at Broadwater Farm Estate since the rising on 6 October. This report by Haringey Police Sub-Committee not only confirms these facts but also gives a detailed account of police tactics, exposing still more clearly their role as an occupying army on the Estate.

### Events of Sunday 6 October

At 2pm on the afternoon of the killing of Mrs Jarrett, about 200 people from Tottenham mounted a protest picket outside Tottenham police station. The Tottenham police had already mobilised reinforcements from Hammersmith/Fulham, Croydon, Harrow/Brent and Paddington Green, and had sealed off the main High Road through Wood Green and Tottenham. At this point the official police tactic was not to disperse the demonstrators but let them 'burn their anger out'. Meanwhile there was a massive build up of police activity in the area, with green bus loads of riot-equipped long and short shield units and police wearing NATO helmets and overalls moving in. Marked and unmarked police cars were positioning themselves in Tottenham High Road and surrounding streets.

The picket of the police station

ended and the people went to Broadwater Farm Estate for a meeting. Here it was decided to re-start the picket and hand in a petition protesting at Mrs Jarrett's death.

It was as youth were leaving the estate for the police station that they were confronted by long shield units and the first fighting broke out. Police positioned themselves in side streets around the estate and got into riot formation.

At 7pm local community leaders attempted to 'cool down' the situation. By now fires were blazing and Police Support Units (PSUs - 10-12 police in a van) were deployed. A senior officer agreed to call off the PSUs for 15 minutes to allow the community leaders to go and talk to the youth. As this was taking place a police van came at high speed down the road, breaking police lines and the fighting broke out again. Banging their shields, the police formed lines across Mount Pleasant Road in order to attack the people who were forced to retreat back towards the estate.

This was, from the police point of view, a major tactical error and throughout the evening different police units were heard arguing over their radios and in the streets with each other and their superiors about tactics. 1,300 police is the official figure given for the number of police deployed throughout the evening, but because they focussed their forces on the approach roads to the estate where they met 'burning barricades and fierce resistance' they could not put their riot training/equipment into effective practice and they gave the people fighting back the advantage of being inside the estate. From 8pm onwards police tactical decisions were being made at 'superior levels' from New Scotland Yard.

After police had been fired on at 9.45pm the D11 weapons unit moved in and plastic bullets and CS gas were deployed. Newman authorised their deployment and D11 was 'fully equipped and armed in Mount Pleasant Road within 60 seconds of the time it is claimed that police were fired on'.

The report shows clearly how quickly the police mobilised throughout the afternoon, how they incited the fighting at every stage from the killing of Mrs Jarrett onwards. The police operations, their tactics and actions were responsible for everything that happened that evening, including the death of PC Blakelock.

### State of siege since 6 October

#### Police Terror

'Thousands of police have been deployed on Broadwater Farm since 7th October 1985'. The report outlines the occupation of the estate by the police: command centres, tea vans, mobile toilets, and unmarked police cars. On one day alone, 13 PSUs were deployed. Uniformed police patrol all levels of the estate, particularly around Tangmere where the shopping centre, Youth Association and Neighbourhood Offices are situated. All around the estate coach loads of police patrol. Stop and search intimidation went into action from 7 October onwards. D11 armed officers patrol the estate and are identified 'by their berets, jackets, guns and distinctive personal radios'. Dogs are used at all times during patrols and are let loose in people's home during questioning and raids.

During house to house questioning on the estate and surrounding streets, police ask the following questions: Date of birth? Where were you born? How many live in the house? Age of people in house? Who do you work for? Who lives on either side?

Throughout these operations as many as 15 police are deployed outside the house with others in the corridors. Police have gone round the estate during the night sticking up 'Met are Magic' stickers, in particular on the windows of the Youth Association.

Police violence and racism are rife. One man was told to 'Go swing on a tree monkey'. A council officer saw a police officer 'bashing a child's head against a wall'; another man was arrested at gun point and, whilst in custody, had his jaw broken in 3 places.

#### Police raids

At least 89 raids on homes have taken place with up to 50 police used. In three cases whole families have been forcibly removed from their

homes. 95 bags of personal property were taken away from one home after a raid. D11 officers with guns have been deployed during raids. 'In one raid 6 guns were used to remove a mother, father and sister from their home'. They were telephoned by police, told to get out and when they left the house 'were confronted by 3 armed men' outside their front door. Food including baby food and milk, nappies, clothing, knives and personal possessions have been taken away by police who frequently fail to give the family receipts for their property which they are then unable to claim back. On one raid alone £900 of damage was done by police with sledgehammers. 15 doors have been smashed in with sledgehammers. At all times during raids, a police photographer takes pictures of the inside and outside of homes.

One woman was so distressed after a raid on her home that she herself destroyed her remaining property. She felt 'violated by police going through all her personal possessions, removing... and damaging her property.' She cannot enter her son's bedroom or the bathroom where police did most damage and is now on tranquilisers.

#### Arrests and Interrogation

(Please see main article 'Broadwater Farm: the siege continues' for details of arrests)

At least 151 people have been arrested since 6 October, with up to 3 people arrested each day. The majority arrested are young and black. The report gives details of police abuse of those held in custody. This includes sleep deprivation, and removal of clothing. One youth of 16 was released without his shoes, socks or jacket. A Rasta who suffers from sickle cell anaemia had no food for a week whilst in detention because as a vegetarian he refused police food on religious grounds - he collapsed twice during his imprisonment.

People in custody have not been allowed to wash; blood samples have been forcibly taken as well as photographs and finger and palm prints of juveniles; strip searches have been attempted; and police took the measurements of a pregnant woman.

Interrogations last for hours and police have asked such questions as 'what do you know about the Defence Committee?', 'Did you cut up my best mate?' Mentally ill people have been detained and interrogated. Two were so ill that they needed medication, but still police refused them access to doctors and solicitors. Three children from special schools are in custody - one is on a murder charge.

Access to solicitors has been denied repeatedly by police on the grounds that solicitors will 'advise their clients to keep silent'. This is illegal. In court police argue against

black people and the oppressed - inside the AAM.

In fact *Socialist Action* wants to narrow and restrict the AAM. It justified the EC's opposition to a motion calling for City AA's reinstatement saying:

'The facts presented to the NC indicate that City AAM was attempting to build itself as an alternative national movement by recruiting members nationally, withholding funds from National A-A and calling its own 'national' actions in London.'

*Socialist Action*, it appears, is incapable of doing anything more than repeating the lies of the EC in order to justify the exclusion of a significant force from the AAM - City AA. But even further, while attempting to maintain its democratic credentials, *Socialist Action* states:

'No one should be witch-hunted for their political views, but City AA's dominance is only possible while there is no weighted delegate structure for the conference.'

Is this not a typical example of left-opportunism? 'We oppose witch-hunts' (in words) but we vote for them at the AGM, and then help them spread their slanders. We also, in order that our witch-hunting is better concealed, propose to do this constitutionally, by having a 'weighted delegate structure'. This would, they hope, get rid of the RCG and City AA 'dominance' and also ensure that the 'big' trade unions and Labour Party could maintain their 'dominance' and exclude new revolutionary forces.

## SHOOT TO KILL?

*International Lawyers' Inquiry into the Lethal Use of Firearms by the Security Forces in Northern Ireland. Chair Kader Asmal. Mercier Press, Pbk, 1985 £5.95*

Between July 1981 and February 1984 at least 20 unarmed people were shot dead by the British Army/RUC/UDR in the Six Counties. The period 1969-1984 saw 155 shot dead in what the British authorities call 'disputed circumstances'. Only one British soldier on duty, Ian Thain, has ever been convicted of murder (December 1984) and one of manslaughter (a 12 month sentence suspended for two years). The controversy surrounding these facts led to claims that the British Army in Ireland was carrying out a 'shoot to kill' policy against the nationalist people - legalised murder.

The International Lawyers Inquiry was set up to investigate the lethal use of firearms by the security forces (British Army/RUC/UDR) in the Six Counties, to examine investigations of such deaths, the role of the coroners' courts, the role of the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland in prosecution for such deaths, and the effect on the civilian population of the use of lethal force. Civil liberties bodies in Britain, the USA and Ireland, lawyers and community leaders, and nationalists who witnessed the killings all gave evidence. Government sources (Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, British Army, RUC, DPP, Coroners and others) refused to participate in the Inquiry in any way.

The Inquiry differentiated between the deaths of 'civilians' and of those supposed to have connections with 'paramilitary' groups. Of 267 fatal casualties by security forces, 155 were held to be civilian (1969-1984). Since Bloody Sunday 1972 there has been no government inquiry into the killing of civilians by bail using such lies as 'more serious charges are likely to occur' if a person is granted bail, or that 'they have heard new information on the case just before arrival at court'. They have also used the pretence that to grant bail would jeopardise the 'personal safety and welfare' of the defendant - implying that he or she has given information on other people the police want to frame. However, no evidence has been produced to support this police claim.

This report is a powerful indictment of a despotic police force determined to terrorise the people of Tot-

tenham and Broadwater Farm Estate and destroy their community. They justify their presence on the estate by saying that they are 'reducing crime'. But their own figures show that from November 1983 to October 1985 the crime rate on Broadwater Farm fell by 50% following the opening of the Neighbourhood Office - in other words the people organised themselves. Since 6 October the crime rate has risen dramatically - that is the crimes of the police.

Probably the most damning section of this Report is ch 4, Evidence (pp26-59). Public hearings were held in Armagh, Derry and Belfast. The results are an indictment of the role of the British authorities - from government to judges, from coroners to the security forces themselves. In many cases inquests had been 'delayed' or difficult to obtain, some had not taken place more than two years after the killings. Prosecutions of those clearly responsible were denied. The facts were twisted and lies told by the security forces - few were required even to testify.

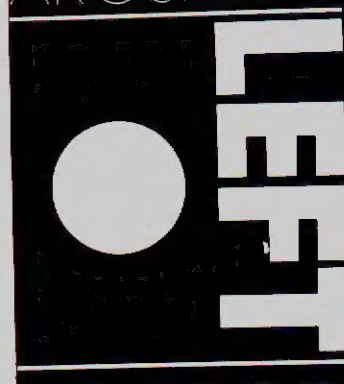
Killings that have caused intense nationalist anger were those of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll in December 1982 and Eugene Toman, Gervaise McKerr and Sean Burns in November 1982. In the Grew/Carroll case the RUC admitted lying about the killings. A year later an RUC man was charged with Grew's murder, acquitted and praised by Judge Justice MacDermott 'for his sharp shooting'. The Coroner for Armagh resigned his post due to 'grave irregularities' in the RUC files on the killings. The inquest had still not taken place in late 1984. No-one was ever charged with Carroll's murder. In the Toman/McKerr/Burns case three RUC men were charged (more than a year after the killings) with Toman's murder, but there were no charges in the case of McKerr and Burns. In the widely publicised trial the three RUC were acquitted by Lord Justice Gibson who commended them 'for their courage and determination in bringing the three deceased to justice, in this case, the final court of justice'. Once again - no inquest.

This examination of the shoot to kill policy in Ireland is comprehensive and, although written in legalistic terms, the facts speak for themselves. The conclusions and recommendations of the Inquiry are an outright condemnation of the British government; its shoot to kill policy; and the cover-up role played by the government agencies involved.

Pauline Sellars

Alexa Byrne

## AROUNDthe



### Socialist Action and the Anti-Apartheid Movement

We have repeatedly said that socialist organisations are today being forced to take sides in the deepening split affecting the entire progressive and socialist movement. *Socialist Action* is no exception. At the AAM AGM (for a full report see p5 of this issue) its members and supporters consistently voted with the Kinnoek/Morning Star AAM Executive Committee (EC) and against the revolutionary trend represented by the RCG and City AA.

*Socialist Action* is the newspaper of the Socialist League. Known once as the International Marxist Group, this Trotskyist organisation hails from the radical student movement of the '60s. In the 1970 General Election it called for a boycott of the Labour Party with the slogan 'Let It

Bleed' and until the introduction of the PTA in 1974 it vociferously supported the IRA. It has since changed its name and entered the Labour Party. Recently it has become active in the AAM.

This organisation claims to be revolutionary and marxist. Yet at the AGM and in *Socialist Action's* report (No 124, 6 December 1985) it defends and covers up for the right wing Kinnoek/Morning Star leadership of the movement. In doing so it reveals itself as a left-opportunist trend in the AAM. Lenin, in his battles against opportunism during the first imperialist war, frequently confronted its 'left' variety. He said of the corrupt social democratic organisations of his time, that they had to have a left-wing. With the split in the working class, the function of the left-opportunists is to pose as revolutionaries while actually defending the right wing.

*Socialist Action* claims to be in favour of democracy and against witch-hunts. Indeed in banner headlines of the same issue as its AGM report, it opposes Kinnoek's witch-hunting of the Militant. Yet its support for democracy does not extend to those forces fighting for a democratic AAM. *Socialist Action's* report says not a word about (never mind actually condemning) the EC's reactionary decision to prevent any leaflets or newspapers other than its own being distributed. Nor does it say anything about the violent methods by which the EC tried to enforce this decision. Where does *Socialist Action* stand on the right of every affiliated organisation to distribute its literature at AAM events? Why

does it conceal from its readers the disgraceful anti-democratic and violent behaviour of the AAM EC, directed particularly at the RCG and City AA?

The answer lies in the fact that *Socialist Action*, despite its claims to be marxist, politically supports the opportunists, and joins in their attacks on the RCG and City AA. Referring to our resolutions on racism and the PTA, *Socialist Action* says that the RCG proposed that:

'...the movement should effectively be confined to those who also oppose the PTA, and any other question that might be thrown in.'

'Such an approach - in restricting and confining the forces we are prepared to mobilise against apartheid to those who agree on a full programme of other questions - would be a grave disservice to the people of South Africa.'

In trying to defend the AAM EC, *Socialist Action* merely repeats its false and lying arguments. With our resolutions we are in fact trying to make the AAM more effective by drawing in new forces, not confining the AAM to old forces. Unless the AAM opposes racist immigration controls and opposes laws such as the PTA which are used against the oppressed, it will never succeed in drawing into the AAM precisely those forces which can be the soundest foundations for an effective movement. *Socialist Action*, like the EC, don't want the newly emerging revolutionary forces in Britain -

harass them and move them on.

Apart from giving the whole platform to the police, which in itself spoke volumes, the only other political statements made by LPYS were on posters, calling for 'trade union rights for police' - no doubt to protect them when done for assault the line of duty.

'Sack fascists from the police force.' - Who would be left? An 'stop harassment of youth.'

The policeman had his kind approachable, community bob smile on and thought he could relate into a 'civilized exchange of views'. FRFI members were determined that we would not participate in a co-debate with a representative of police force which is murdering a terrorising black people in their communities, and we said exactly that, the attacks on Broadwater Farm, the attacks on peace demonstrations and the growing evidence of a police state. His relaxed smile soon began to twist in anger. The purpose of the meeting was undermined. It soon became clear that this policeman only remained civilised as long as discussion was his terms and that of his 'Militant' friends.

At one point he even threatened leave, when the police were being accused of murder and thuggery. FRFI. However the militant did ask him to stay and ordered FRFI to leave. We decided to do this, having seen enough of this disgusting display of class collaboration. As we left we declared our support for the oppressed fighting police.

Helen and Derek



## Appeal for Vietnam

Dear Friends  
We wish to appeal to you for most urgent financial aid for the province of Binh Tri Thien, and in particular the historic city of Hue in central Vietnam.

On 16 October an unprecedentedly tempestuous typhoon struck this province, killing some 800 people and leaving tens of thousands of families without shelter, 95% of the thatched houses collapsing. Schools, hospitals, and factories have suffered extensive damage; 150,000 hectares of rice and cash crops were lost, and many sea-dikes and highways badly damaged.

Typhoons 3, 4 and 7 had already caused heavy damage to Northern

and Central Vietnam this September and early October, but the Vietnamese people were able to cope with that themselves, but this typhoon No 8 that struck on 16 October has overwhelmed them. The government, local administrations, and the people are making big efforts to overcome this disaster, but the damage is so great that immediate financial help is a paramount requirement.

We plead for financial help with this awful disaster, however small; and secondly, if you belong to an organisation, please tell them about Vietnam's need and ask for a donation.

Yours sincerely  
Joan Yuille  
Secretary  
The Britain Vietnam Association  
52, St John's Park, London SE3 7JP

## Slap in the face for the Irish?

Dear Editor(s),  
As a long standing FRFI reader (I have bought every issue since I first read FRFI No 2, almost six years ago) I have always admired the prominence the paper gave to the Irish struggle for national liberation. I looked forward to reading the Hands Off Ireland! (HOI!) back page. For me that was proof that FRFI meant what it said (says) about Ireland being the key to the British revolution. I am not aware of any other prominent left paper that gives (gave) such consistent and prominent coverage to exposing Britain's imperialist war in Ireland.

Imagine the horror I felt when I received FRFI No 54 through the post, only to discover that HOI! was no longer on the back page. It was gone! What I always feared had happened. The coverage of Britain's war in Ireland had been demoted; lost in the inside pages of FRFI. It now seems that FRFI has become just like many other left papers in its coverage of Ireland. Not only has the HOI! page disappeared, but the overall cover-

age of Ireland has also been reduced from two pages to one! Ireland it seems is only to be mentioned in passing comments, or worthy of the odd article.

I have news for FRFI. The war in Ireland is not going to go away. FRFI has a key role to play in breaking the official wall of censorship and silence surrounding Britain's war in Ireland. How can FRFI claim that Ireland is still the key to the British revolution, when it blatantly downgrades its coverage of the war there? Coverage which was excellent in its analysis of the various forces involved.

I am considering not renewing my subscription in protest at this slap in the face to all Irish anti-imperialists and democrats in Britain, unless the editors can persuade me to see the sense of their actions. I await a reply with interest. Incidentally, I very much liked the back page article linking the murders of Bobby Sands and Benjamin Molise under the heading 'One struggle One fight!'. Ireland and South Africa face the same enemy, British imperialism.  
Yours  
SM  
London

FRFI has not 'demoted' coverage of Ireland. The last issue carried material relating to Ireland and Irish POWs on pages 2, 16 and 12 - over and above the Hands Off Ireland! page itself.

The decision to make the back page available for material on any issue, and move HOI! inside, was part of the restructuring of FRFI needed to reflect the real developments in the class struggle. The structure of FRFI had become too rigid. We have introduced new regular columns and made FRFI more flexible in order to meet the changing conditions of the struggle - in Ireland, South Africa, internationally and in Britain itself. We have to do this if FRFI is to provide the political analysis and ideological material needed to build a revolutionary movement in this country.

This means making decisions on priorities in each issue of the paper according to the actual developments in the class struggle, nationally and internationally. Thus, for example, South Africa is clearly, at the moment, a central issue and therefore is getting more space than usual. The links between the Irish struggle and South Africa are very important and therefore we put the item on Bobby Sands and Benjamin Molise on the back page rather than routinely putting it on a page called Hands Off Ireland.

SM's comments are, to say the least, premature. Readers should judge the truth of the matter by the coverage we actually give to Ireland. We welcome readers' views on this and the new structure of FRFI.

## Broadwater Farm - like Northern Ireland

### A letter from Winston Silcott

Hello FRFI

I would first like to say your paper is great. I've never read your paper before until I was introduced to it by a pal I met in here, in Brixton jail.

The news your paper puts out is very interesting and overwhelming to the unknown. Until I was falsely put in Brixton, I would never look at any national newspapers, the reason why is these national papers seem to false pretence the media. Especially topics about people who are demanding their rights. The pole-lice have made sure that the national newspapers have taken a role in dismissing the deaths of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett and the young 5-year-old boy who was shot by a pole-lice, John Short-house. Also the national newspapers have distorted the shooting of Cherry Groce.

It strikes me as being funny that when a pole-lice shoots an unarmed and defenceless person it is always an accident. The pole-lice always goes on leave with pay, because he is deeply upset and shocked by what he has done (which we know is lies). But police always get away with the

crime. It's just one of the police methods of getting him out of the lime light. But if a member of the public commits such an offence the person will be locked up, accident or not. Then the national newspapers will make a big fuss out of it to sell their papers before they know the true or false circumstances. Which really leaves us with one law for people and one for the pole-lice.

I myself have been harassed untold times by these pole-lice; if I was to count the times of harassment I would need at least 60 pairs of hands. That's how you get treated living on Broadwater Farm Estate. The Farm is like Northern Ireland, now under siege by these pole-lice. The pole-lice even listen through people's letter boxes. Now to this new ordeal, the pole-lice are phoning my parents' flat and verbally abusing them with violence and death and racial remarks. Police have even sent a few poison letters.

I am a person who speaks my mind to these pole-lice. They have categorised me as a loud mouth and a trouble maker. Now I am in here again on a false charge. We have no rights no more in the eyes of the police.

Anyway keep up the good work in letting people know the true facts.  
Yours  
Winston Silcott  
HMP Brixton

## Chaining is not a crime!

Dear FRFI

What the AAM leadership and sections of the AAM fail to understand is firstly, that when you take part in effective anti-apartheid protest you automatically run the risk of being attacked by the British government through its apartheid-loving, racist police, and face police brutality, arrest, charges and increasing likelihood of imprisonment. Secondly, they fail to see that the struggle does not stop after arrest. A defence campaign is not a bureaucratic, technical process, but a continuation of the political struggle that led to arrest in the first place. Indeed, organising to defend your democratic right to protest is just as much an act of solidarity with black people in South Africa as the protest itself.

I feel in a strong position when looking at this, having with my comrade Simone, successfully defended myself in a British court against the British police and won! We chained ourselves to the gates of the South African Embassy in protest at the murder of Victoria Mxenge. She was a lawyer and at the time she was shot dead by agents of the apartheid regime she was defending the UDF 16, on trial facing the death sentence for organising against the regime which keeps black people in chains in South Africa.

In conducting our own defence we were in the unusual and delightful position of cross-examining our arresting officers and various Inspectors. During this it became clear that the police had no grounds for our charge and the magistrate dismissed the case at half-time before we even had to give evidence and be cross-examined by their barrister!

I'd like to thank our comrade who acted as our 'MacKenzie friend' in court, for her understanding of the law and her help throughout the case. Also the comrades in the RCG and City Group who were with us in court and shared our moment of victory.  
Auriel Fermo  
South London RCG

## Mark Hogg - murdered in prison

Dear Comrades

It was with great anger that I read of the death of Mark Hogg - brutally murdered for the 'crime' of escaping from the most harsh and repressive prison system in the so-called 'developed' world.

His murderers are stupidly ignoring or underestimating the desire for revenge that has been built up by generations of state terrorism. No doubt Mark Hogg's murderers feel secure in the knowledge that they are protected by the judicial machinery of the state from the consequences of their vicious crime. They are taking for granted and stupidly overestimating the extent to which their mas-

## Ian Davison - 'Geordie terrorist'

Dear FRFI,

I am writing to tell readers about a TV Eye programme (Thames TV) on Thursday 5 December. It was called 'The Geordie Terrorist' and was about Ian Davison from Tyneside who left Britain to fight with the Palestinians.

He faces life imprisonment in a Cyprus jail for his involvement in the shooting of three Israeli agents in a Cyprus harbour. The Israelis regularly send out undercover agents to spy on shipping all round the Mediterranean. These three were shot in the war between the Palestinians and the racist Zionist regime.

The TV Eye programme laid its politics on the line: 'What made a Tyneside carpenter leave his home town to become a PLO Terrorist?'. The picture was built up - an impressionable young man led astray by friends. Ian Davison's real motives and inspiration could however not be concealed in the taped interview with him inside Larnica jail. He said he was fighting for the right side and when questioned about 'soft targets' rounded on the interviewer saying that the Israelis had shown no mercy to the real soft targets in the Palestinian refugee camps. TV Eye did its best to put words into the mouths of Ian Davison's parents. His mother was upset and couldn't explain her son's actions. His father was much tougher. Mr Davison said that he wouldn't and couldn't condone any killing but that he wouldn't condemn his son either: 'He's a soldier in an army fighting a war. They have their own codes and principles and he has to live by them' were his words in defence of his son.

Cards and messages of support can be sent to Ian Davison and his two comrades in Larnica Prison, Cyprus.

Gary Cameron  
London RCG

Ian Davison was sentenced to life imprisonment on 13 December. Before beginning his sentence he addressed the court and called on everyone to fight for Palestinian rights: 'If I am condemned for 100 years, I don't care. My freedom is in my heart and my conscience'. Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! sends solidarity greetings to this brave liberation fighter.

ters desire to extend their personal protection. The 'forces of law and order' are employed to protect the property and privileges of the ruling class - not the persons of their hired killers.

Even if the ruling class decide to 'sacrifice' one or two thugs as a sop to the media, still the murder of Mark Hogg will be individualised and 'criminalised'. The non prosecution of his murderers is a political decision. The crime is that of political murder. Our response should be political.

Danny Grimes HMP Blundeston

# LETTERS

Write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

## Demonstration Against Police Repression

Organised by Campaign Against Police Repression  
Saturday 25 January 12 noon,  
London Fields E8  
Supported by FRFI, CROWD and others

## LONDON Street meeting

Britain Out of Apartheid - Apartheid out of Britain  
Saturday 21 December  
11am - 1pm Wood Green Library (Wood Green tube).  
Organised by North London FRFI.

## Street meeting

Stop Strip-Searches in Brixton and Amnagh  
Saturday 21 December  
11am-12.30pm. Outside Prince of Wales pub (opposite Lambeth Town Hall)  
Organised by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

## Street meeting

Political Prisoners - Ireland, South Africa, Britain Saturday 4 January 11am-3pm at Wood Green Library (nearest tube Wood Green).  
Organised by North London FRFI

## Bloody Sunday

Demonstration and Rally  
London 2 February 1986 called by The Coordinating Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland.

For information write to CCBWI c/o PO Box 551, London SE5 8JJ or to ISM, BCM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

## Dubious deal

Dear FRFI

I was disgusted to see that Alex Pascall has become the co-ordinator of Caribbean Focus '86. This project aims to improve race relations, so far so good. But Caribbean Times reported on Friday 22 November that the venture is supported by Barclays Bank, Cable and Wireless and World Sugar Futures. ILEA is also taking part.

I do not need to remind both Caribbean Times and Alex Pascall that Barclays Bank is an apartheid bank in South Africa and has a history of blood and murder.

As an anti-apartheid activist, I do not see how these people can gain much respect from those who are concerned about apartheid or racism in Britain.

This should not be a surprise to us who also read (Guardian 26 November) that the Commonwealth Secretary General Shridath Ramphal is involved in the discussions on South Africa with seven conservative representatives of various countries such as Malcolm Fraser, General Obasanjo, Lord Barber (ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer - new chairman of Standard Chartered Bank which invests blood money in South Africa). Pierre Trudeau and Julius Nyerere rightly refused to be dragged into this dubious deal.

Well, FRFI supporters, watch out for this group's first meeting in London, a group that is begging to be received by the fascist regime of South Africa.

Colette Lévy  
City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

## Help us write FRFI PAY FOR A JOURNALIST!

The risings in Britain, the Irish struggle, the international fight against imperialism, the political crisis of the working class movement in Britain: these are just some of the issues FRFI investigates to draw out the political answers we need to fight the racist British system. To do this job we need full time journalists. Not to wallow in the Fleet Street trough but to get the truth about the people's struggles. YOU need revolutionary journalists opposing imperialist lies with revolutionary truth. WE need YOUR MONEY to do the job. We cannot employ another full time journalist without the money to pay for it. We need at least £5,000.

Send money in NOW or take out a standing order or send a regular monthly amount. FRFI is YOUR paper. Help to build it NOW.

\* I enclose £\_\_\_\_\_ for the journalist fund. (cheque/PO made payable to Larkin Publications)

\* Please send me a standing order form for a regular donation

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

\* delete if not applicable

Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

## FRFI FUND DRIVE: NOVEMBER £543.19

The November Fund Drive was again successful in raising the £500 we need every month to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI. In fact, it was exceeded again, this time by £43.19.

Our thanks go to all who contributed - to the paper direct at our fundraising events and on the streets: Individual readers sent in £8.54, the remainder was raised by FRFI Supporter Groups throughout the country: South London £290.05, North London £88.30, Edinburgh £38.15, Glasgow £34.70, Liverpool £30, Manchester £28.95, Dundee £13, Bradford £6.50, Leeds £5. Come and help our FRFI Supporter Groups next month with bazaars, raffles, collections and benefits.

Send donations to FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX (cheques/postal orders payable to 'Larkin Publications').

Name/Organisation \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

## JOIN FRFI SUPPORTERS GROUP

FRFI has Supporters Groups in the following areas Glasgow, Dundee, Edinburgh, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool, North and South London.

If there is no supporter group in your area - why not set one up? For details of existing groups, or help in setting up a group, write to: FRFI (Supporters Groups), BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX or phone 01 837 1688

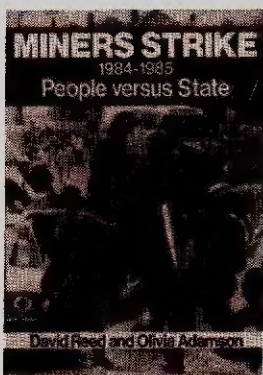
## GREETINGS CARDS

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Order from Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

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Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran and David Reed  
56pp £0.95 plus 28p p&p



Miners Strike 1984-85  
People versus State  
David Reed and Olivia Adamson  
144pp £2.50 plus 40p p&p

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1985 was above all the year which divided Britain, not just between the industrially depressed North and the affluent South, but between semi-detached home owners and council estate tenants, between strikers and scabs, between the employed and the unemployed, and between the privileged and the oppressed. Throughout 1985 the Thatcher government defended finance capital – the imperialist banks and the City of London. That was to be expected. 1985 also conclusively showed that Kinnock's Labour Party will only defend the interests of privileged sections of the working class. But most of all during 1985 a growing proportion of British people, the unemployed, the oppressed, the poor and those prepared to oppose Thatcher's onslaught were left to fight alone.

# Divided Britain 1985

## SCABS BETRAY MINERS

On 3 March 1985 the striking miners were forced back to work after a year challenging the Thatcher government's plans to decimate the coal industry. The reason for their defeat was the scabbing and treacherous response of Kinnock's Labour Party, the TUC leadership and sections of the trade union movement. The miners had spent a year fighting the scab working miners, fighting police brutality and media censorship, only to be stabbed in the back by 'fellow' workers who crossed the picket lines and by the so-called party of the working class – the Labour Party. This defeat and the divisions it exposed reverberated throughout the rest of the year.

The miners left to fight alone were eventually isolated and forced back to work. But every defeat carries in its wake important political lessons for the future. Trade unionists who want to fight have to build new alliances capable of destroying the opportunist bloc of Kinnock's Labour Party, the TUC leadership and the privileged workers they represent. Those alliances cannot be built within the confines of the Labour Party and the trade union movement. That is why FRFI in January 1985 called on the striking miners to 'go out to the people'. We said then that:

'...the support of hundreds of thousands of ordinary people already sympathetic to the striking miners must now be organised into a political force that can decisively break the impasse and take forward not only the miners' strike but the entire working class. The striking miners must go out to the people!'

But the NUM leadership was unable to break its political ties to the Labour Party and trade union movement. It did not take this course. On the contrary as soon as the strike ended many were quick to rebuild old alliances with the Labour leadership that had so openly betrayed the strike. Over the next nine

months, Arthur Scargill, one of the few trade union leaders to stand by his class, was increasingly isolated. The union split and despite a victory against Kinnock on the issue of amnesty for sacked and imprisoned miners at the Labour Party conference in September, Scargill's political influence has waned.

Despite these developments, the political gains of the strike and the lessons learned are vital for the future. In April 1985 FRFI published a book on the miners' strike *Miners' Strike 1984-85: People versus State*, which gave a political history of the strike. In it we argue that the miners' strike has produced a wealth of political gains: the leading role of the working class women; the new class organisations thrown up in the mining areas, towns and cities; and the recognition of the common interest of striking miners with people oppressed by British imperialism – Irish people, black people in Britain and the people of Southern Africa fighting to destroy the racist apartheid state. It also produced important political lessons: the split in the working class movement; the disastrous influence of the leadership of the Labour and trade union movement; and the class character of the state, its police, law and courts.

## LABOUR TAKES SIDES

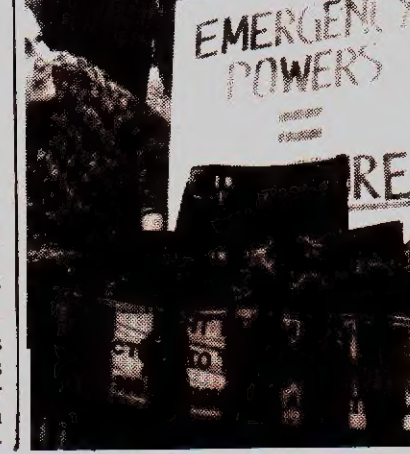
The defeat of the miners' strike consolidated Neil Kinnock's hold on the Labour Party. From now any struggle which interfered with the election prospects of a future Labour government would be attacked. A bid had to be made to win votes back to Labour from the Tories and the Alliance. In Kinnock's words:

'The only way to help the poor, the only way to help the unemployed... the only way to help the victimised is to get the support of those who are not poor, those who are not unemployed and those who are not victimised.'

This appeal to the social backbone of semi-detached Britain means Labour resolutely turning its back on the poor and the oppressed. First of all Kinnock decided to clean up the Labour Party itself, hence the witch-hunt against Militant. Kinnock was venomous in his treatment of the Militant-led Liverpool council in the midst of the fight against rate-capping. At the 1985 Labour conference Kinnock opposed black sections, attacked the miners, poured scorn on his Party's left-wing, calling them 'loud-mouthed' minorities and most crucially attacked the violence of the people of Brixton, out on the streets protesting against the police shooting of Mrs Cherry Groce. This theme of Labour 'law and order' was later applied even more vigorously to the Tottenham uprising and to Bernie Grant who spoke out in support of the black youth. This is the price of the turn to middle-class electoral support. Under Neil Kinnock's Labour Party the poor, the unemployed and the victimised can only expect a thrashing.

## BLACK PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

From 9 September to 6 October, in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham, the dispossessed led by black youth rose up in anger against racist police terror in their communities. In Tottenham the fighting was the fiercest yet seen in Britain. Again, these developments confirmed the revolutionary vanguard role of black people. They immediately identified their rising with black youth in South Africa. Like the black people of South Africa, they were met with organised state repression. Tottenham was placed under siege. The raids, arrests and intimidation have continued ever since. Commissioner of Police, Kenneth Newman, threatened London with plas-



tic bullets and CS gas. The repressive methods used in Ireland were, once again, in 1985 being used in Britain.

## IRELAND – NO REFORM

In 1985 Britain's occupation of Ireland once more began to have a direct impact on the British government. The success of Sinn Féin in local elections in May clearly indicated popular support for the Republican Movement. The local elections were followed by systematic disruption by the loyalists of any councils with Sinn Féin representation. In this process the SDLP – the constitutional nationalists – are becoming increasingly irrelevant. The Anglo-Irish Agreement signed at the end of November is yet another attempt by the British government to isolate the Republican Movement and strengthen constitutional nationalism, this time with the backing of the Free State government. The Agreement will flounder, like similar efforts before, because in reality the Six County statelet is irreformable.

## PTA – STATE TERROR

In 1985, the PTA was used increasingly against the Irish, against Southern African, Indian and Arab freedom movements. The failure of the British working class movement to oppose this racist law when its use was confined to the harassment and intimidation of the Irish, allowed the British state to extend its use to any liberation movement or its supporters which threaten the interests of British imperialism anywhere in the world. In September 1985 the Chief Representative in Europe of SWAPO was detained under the PTA for questioning at Heathrow Airport, despite assurances from the British government to the AAM leadership that the PTA would not be used against the legitimate liberation movements of Southern Africa. Such assurances are worthless because British imperialism stands in direct opposition to liberation in Southern Africa.

## APARTHEID TREMBLES

1985 was the year when Britain stood increasingly alone in support of the apartheid regime. Despite world-wide condemnation of apartheid, Mrs Thatcher would concede only a 'tiny little bit'. In July the State of Emergency was imposed and in October rigid press censorship. Yet in spite of the massacres of black people, every funeral was turned into a political demonstration against apartheid. Despite the mass detentions of political activists, the people have organised to boycott the businesses of whites and collaborators, and the workers in the factories have organised to support the struggle. In 1985 the black people of South Africa have turned the tables on the apartheid regime.

## BANS AND PROSCRIPTIONS

On 19 October, at the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group 'Surround the Embassy', two thousand people actively chose to protest outside the South African Embassy rather than be led away from it by the National Union of Students Executive and the AAM. 322 people were arrested in a mass sit-down. On 2 November, two weeks later, the AAM held its largest demonstration ever against apartheid. The demonstration ended with police charges and mass arrests. But what should have been a year of united struggle against British support for apartheid was marred by the sectarianism of the AAM leadership. In February City Group was expelled from the AAM. City Group's worst sin was to criticise the AAM's Executive for its collaboration with the police and its backstabbing activities during the South African Embassy Picket Campaign in 1984. Not content with drumming City Group out of the movement, the AAM Executive is now extending its

witch-hunt to the RCG. Along with Divided Britain, go the politics of bans and proscriptions against the left. In our pamphlet *South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain* we showed exactly why the AAM leadership holds back the struggle against British collaboration with apartheid.

## STAMPING OUT OPPOSITION

In Divided Britain suppression of democracy is necessary on two fronts. It is necessary for the opportunists – the Labour and trade union leaders and their followers – to stamp out all opposition to their back-sliding compromise with British imperialism. That is why Militant have been witch-hunted in Liverpool, that is why City Group was expelled from the AAM. Repression is also a vital tool of the British state – to stamp out all opposition to its rule. That is why the police rampaged through the mining communities, that is why Broadwater Farm is still under police siege. To add to its armoury of laws Thatcher's government has introduced the Police and Criminal Evidence Act and the new Public Order Bill to ensure that the oppressed, black people, unemployed, and strikers are firmly kept in their place. 150 years ago the Tolpuddle Martyrs were transported for forming a union. In 1986 political activists will be imprisoned for long periods under the new repressive laws. The test of any political party which calls itself the Party of the working class will be its ability to support those who oppose British imperialism. In 1985 the British Labour Party abandoned workers and oppressed to fight alone.

## NO IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

During 1985 black people were deported from Britain at the rate of 50 a week. A supporter of FRFI, Viraj Mendis, faces deportation to Sri Lanka. If he is deported he will face certain persecution and possibly death at the hands of the British-backed regime. Thousands of other black people in Britain face the same prospect simply because there is no united movement which will stand firmly against immigration controls.

## ORGANISE TO DEFEAT OPPORTUNISM

In 1986 we have a hard task before us if the combined assault of Kinnock and Thatcher are to be defeated. The Divided Britain of 1985 showed what the sides are in the coming battle. Forces emerged which can, if they are organised, combine to defeat Thatcher and Kinnock and all they represent. Organisation is the key issue before us in 1986.

The miners' strike and the events at Broadwater Farm show the problem which faces communists in Britain. The miners fought a heroic battle against Thatcher, the NCB and the police. But because the NUM leadership could not break from the Labour leaders who had betrayed them, it was easier for the state to criminalise the strikers and force pit closures and redundancies. The uprising at Broadwater Farm showed that black people will not tolerate racist repression from the police and British state. But the police have been able to hold the estate under siege ever since. Winston Silcott and many others are held in prison. Why? Simply because there is no organisation able to defend the community from the savage revenge of the state.

In 1986 we have to build the organisation which will defend the people. 1985 demonstrates that only a communist perspective can defend the rights of the oppressed and the working class. Only communist organisation can defeat the opportunists who are betraying the struggle. That is why you must join the RCG now.

Carol Brickley and David Reed



## JOIN THE RCG!

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG! A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement—Join the RCG!!

A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!

Help us build a revolutionary anti-imperialist alternative. Work with us in our anti-racist, Irish solidarity, anti-apartheid and other struggles—Join the RCG!

I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX